

**Bishnupriya (Manipuri) Speakers in Bangladesh:
A Sociolinguistic Survey**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIQ	=	Community Information Questionnaire
HTT	=	Hometown Test
MT	=	Mother Tongue
RPE	=	Reported Proficiency Evaluation
RTT	=	Recorded Text Test
SRT	=	Sentence Repetition Test

ABSTRACT

This report presents the findings of a survey conducted in the Bishnupriya community of Bangladesh in March 2003. Data gathered through word lists, sociolinguistic questionnaires, and SRTs are presented and analyzed to determine the current sociolinguistic situation. In brief, it was concluded that the Bishnupriya are highly bilingual in Bangla, the national language, but also speak their mother tongue enough to keep its vitality high and have a positive attitude toward their mother tongue. Still, an increased use of mother tongue literacy would strengthen its usefulness and vitality even more.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purposes and goals

The purpose of this sociolinguistic survey of Bishnupriya was to gather information that would be used to plan a language-development program for the Bishnupriya living in Bangladesh. We wanted to know how linguistically uniform the Bishnupriya language is throughout their community and, from a sociolinguistic point of view, whether or not Bishnupriya warranted literature production and literacy programs. Just as importantly, we wanted to know the community's attitude toward such programs. To meet these purposes, the following goals were established:

1. To investigate possible dialectal differences among Bishnupriya speakers
2. To determine the Bishnupriya people's attitudes towards their own language and towards other language varieties
3. To assess the Bishnupriya community's fluency in Bangla
4. To assess the long-term viability of the Bishnupriya language in Bangladesh

To accomplish these goals, this sociolinguistic survey of Bishnupriya was carried out in three interrelated parts: 1) a study of the dialects of the language, 2) a study of language use, attitudes, and vitality, and 3) a bilingualism study. Figure 1 gives a summary of the sociolinguistic methods used in this survey.

Figure 1: Overview of methods.

Study	Method	Brief description	Focus	Sample size
Study of the dialects of the language	Lexical similarity comparison	A 307-item wordlist	Lexical variation among Bishnupriya villages	6 Bishnupriya villages
Study of language use, attitudes, and vitality	Socio-linguistic questionnaire	A 22-item questionnaire	Language preferences Attitudes towards various language varieties and programs Domains of language use	58 subjects from 5 villages
Study of bilingualism	Socio-linguistic questionnaire	A 5-item questionnaire	Perceived ability in any second language Measured ability to speak Bangla	58 subjects from 5 villages
	SRT (Sentence Repetition Test)	A 15-sentence test calibrated to RPE scale 1 to 4+		38 subjects from 1 village

1.1.1. Study of the dialects of the language

A 307-item wordlist was taken at six Bishnupriya villages. These wordlists were then compared as a way of determining lexical similarity among Bishnupriya varieties in Bangladesh. See appendix B.1 for procedures for lexical similarity comparison.

1.1.2. Language use, attitudes, and vitality study

In order to assess the Bishnupriya people's patterns of language use and their attitudes towards their own and other languages, a sociolinguistic questionnaire was used. Information from the questionnaire gives an indication as to whether the Bishnupriya would accept and use materials translated into their own languages or into another language which is highly intelligible with their own. The questionnaire is given in appendix C.1.

1.1.3. Bilingualism study

A Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) in Bangla was specifically developed to assess levels of bilingualism among minority language speakers in Bangladesh. Thus, it was the primary tool used in the survey of the Bishnupriya to study their bilingual ability in Bangla as well as patterns of bilingualism within the community. The Community Information Questionnaire (CIQ) and the sociolinguistic questionnaire were also used to gather information about the depth and breadth of bilingualism. See appendix E.1 for procedures for using the SRT; see appendix C.4 for the CIQ and appendix F for information gathered through the CIQ.

1.2. Geography

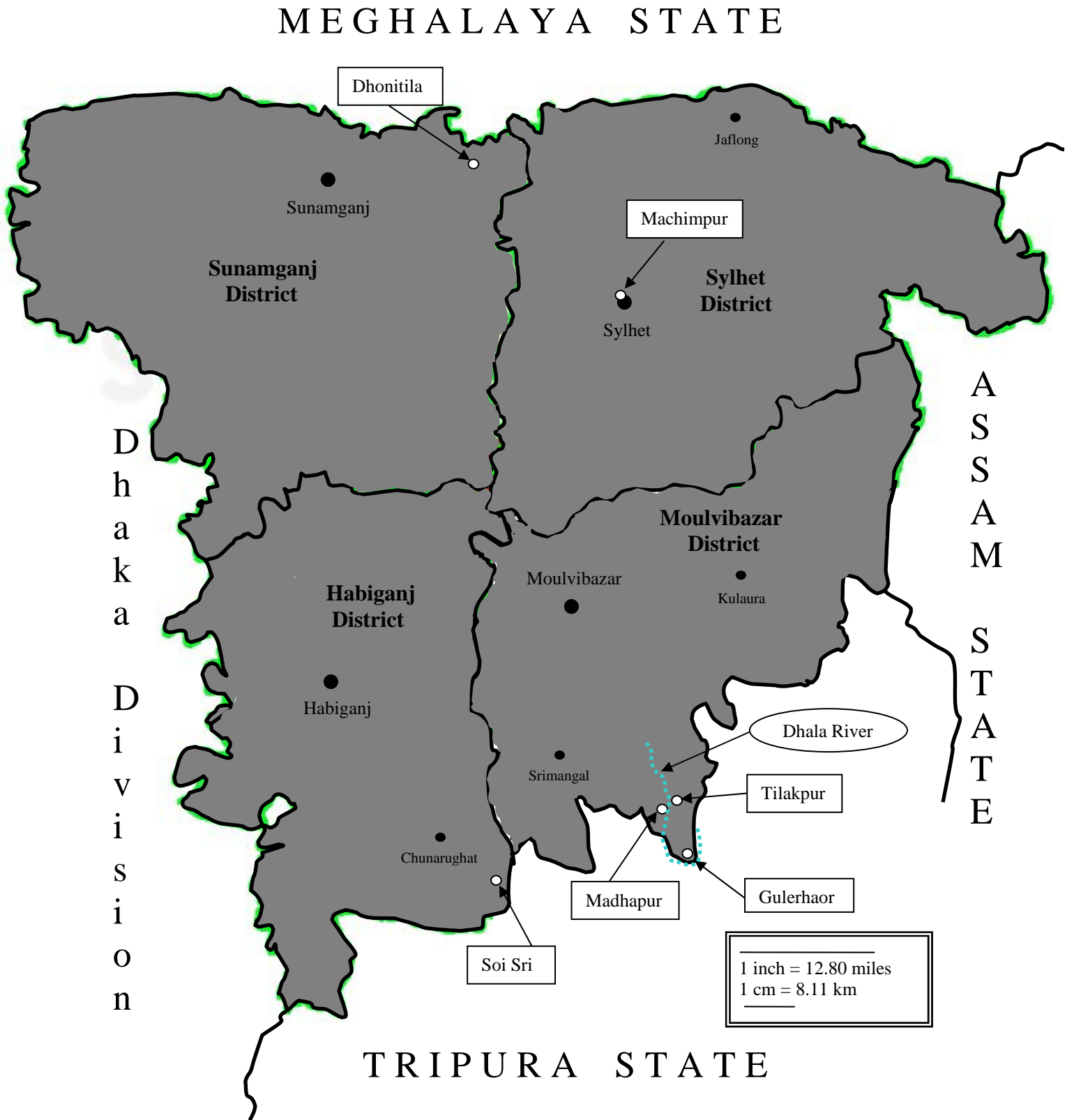
In Bangladesh, almost all of the Bishnupriya live in the flat farmlands of Sylhet division (see figure 2), mainly in Moulvibazar district. They also reside in a few villages in the other three districts of Sylhet division. (See figure 3 for approximate locations of the villages we visited during the research.) The vast majority of Bishnupriya villages are easily accessible by a combination of public buses and/or rickshaws, as they are quite close to main roads and towns.

Living on flat farmland—and in Bangladesh one is never too far from a sizable river—Bishnupriya villages are prone to the yearly flooding that afflicts most of Bangladesh. In Kamalganj thana of Moulvibazar district—the population and cultural center of the Bangladesh Bishnupriya community—the Dhala river first snakes down along the Indian border and then travels up through the heart of the thana, often causing bank damage and floods.

Figure 2: Map of Sylhet division, Bangladesh.



Figure 3: Map of approximate locations of Bishnupriya villages in Sylhet division.



1.3. History

The history of the Bishnupriya, as a people and a language, is far from clear. This is not unusual since many groups, and particularly minority groups, lack a written record of their past. However, in the case of the Bishnupriya, their history is not merely unclear, it is contested. Making it even more thorny for us as researchers, their history—indeed even their name—is contested by another group with whom SIL is working in Sylhet division: the Meitei. This puts us in a difficult position, as there are many good people from both groups who are friends of SIL Bangladesh, and personal friends of ours.

As both the Bishnupriya and Meitei have admitted, there are political reasons for the current division and disagreement. Both groups want the name Manipuri attached to their group as there are certain economic and political advantages to being so recognized by the Bangladesh government. The Bishnupriya in general don't seem to mind sharing the Manipuri name with the Meitei, while there are several voices among the Meitei who reject the notion that the Bishnupriya should in any way be considered Manipuri.

It is not our goal or task to resolve this dispute; our research was sociolinguistic in nature, not historical. And indeed, based on the scant written evidence, we cannot resolve the dispute. For this reason, we have purposely omitted the use of Manipuri, preferring simply to use the terms Bishnupriya and Meitei. While this does not satisfy everyone and can justly be seen as avoiding the issue, we feel that as language surveyors, as members of a language-development NGO, this middle road of not taking any side is the high road that will lead to the brightest future. The relevant question for us is what the Bishnupriya, and the Meitei, want and need in terms of language development for the future.

Thus, this section, as well as the next two on the people and the language, will be basically presented from the Bishnupriya point of view. We will, in a sense, be letting the Bishnupriya speak for themselves about their history as a people and a language. While this may not be the usual objective reporting of facts, it will be fair in that the Meitei will be similarly allowed to speak for themselves in a separate report.

What historians generally agree on is that the Bishnupriya came from the west to present-day Manipur state in India long ago, bringing with them their Aryan physical features and Indo-Aryan language. They may have come in one of the many waves of Aryan invaders to Manipur. According to the Bishnupriya, they were there before the Meiteis and other groups, who in turn came from the east and present-day Myanmar in a succession of invasions to finally drive out the Bishnupriya in the early eighteenth century. Bishnupriya historians point to Dr. G.A. Grierson's writings in 1891 in which he found about one thousand speakers of Bishnupriya in Manipur state (near Bishnupur) as proof of their history as long-time inhabitants of Manipur. Though there are very few remaining Bishnupriya speakers in Manipur, there are reportedly some living in the Jiribam subdistrict (Singha, www.languageinindia.com).

Depending on the source, the Bishnupriya settled in Sylhet division nearly 150–300 years ago, fleeing war and persecution in Manipur. Yet interestingly, a proud part of their history in Bangladesh is their participation in the Liberation War of 1971.

1.4. People

One can see a bit of the Bishnupriya history in their faces, for they indeed look like they come from Aryan stock, but with a tinge of Mongoloid features. They are a hardworking, peaceful people who value hospitality highly: they were very understanding when we declined their offer of paan, but it was difficult to keep them from preparing tea and snacks.

The Bishnupriya of Bangladesh are a predominantly agricultural people who rely on rice farming for much of their livelihood. There are only a few businessmen among them; as one Bishnupriya man put it, “We are not aggressive or cunning enough to compete in the world of businesses and markets.” However, there have been efforts to market their handwoven clothes and fabrics, and the Bishnupriya seem to recognize that to thrive in the modern world, it would be advantageous to expand beyond the rice paddy.

Almost all of the Bishnupriya live in predominantly Bishnupriya villages, where they live in peaceful coexistence with other Bengalis, both Muslim and Hindu. At first glance, their villages look no different from other villages, but on closer inspection, one notices certain differences: a wall-less temple area that is the heart of any village, as well as a loom on the front veranda of every house. The Bishnupriya are justifiably proud of their culture as expressed in their handwoven clothing. Even today, the Bishnupriya men and women wear their distinctly colored and patterned handmade clothing, though the men seem just as comfortable in modern western clothing, and the younger women often wear salwar kamize.

Another source of pride for the Bishnupriya is their dance and music. They recognize their dance and music as an important heritage, as a cultural wealth. Thus, they are active in promoting and performing their dance and music not only in Bangladesh, but also abroad in England. Not only that, they see their dance and music as a means of connecting and communicating with the outside world. On many occasions, the Bishnupriya use them as a gesture of welcome and friendship towards us.

The factor that unites the Bishnupriya culture and people is their religion. One might say that the people, culture, and religion constitute a seamless whole. The Bishnupriya people’s religion can be called a sect of Hinduism, more specifically a cult of Vishnu. Though the name Bishnupriya comes from the god Vishnu, another principal deity is Krishna, for whom many of the songs and dances are performed (Singha, www.manipuri.freehomepage.com). The Bishnupriya do not have a caste system as in mainline Hinduism, but instead they follow a two-tiered hierarchy consisting of the brahmin priests and all the others. Also, the Bishnupriya cannot marry outside their religion, even with mainline Hindus.

The Bishnupriya are generally better educated than the average Bangladeshi. Almost everyone we talked with said they recognized the importance of education, and their actions match their words. Today, nearly all children go to school, with a very high percentage taking the secondary school certificate (SSC) examination, and their level of literacy in Bangla—for everyone but the very oldest members of their community—is very high.

In summary, it can be said that among the twenty thousand to forty thousand Bishnupriya living in Bangladesh, there is both a strong attachment to the traditions of the past and a deep desire to appropriate the trends of the present. As a minority community, the Bishnupriya seem to have an innate sense that both are vital for their standing in the world in the future.

1.5. Language

Bishnupriya can be categorized into the following language family and subclassifications: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Eastern zone, Bengali-Assamese (Grimes 2000:393). Some scholars like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee have claimed that Bishnupriya is a dialect of Bengali, while others like Dr. Maheswar Neog and Dr. Banikanta Kakti have said that it is a dialect of Assamese (Singha, www.languageinindia.com). The Bishnupriya would generally dispute these claims, and assert that Bishnupriya is a distinct, separate language. Their advocates cite lexical and grammatical features unique to Bishnupriya as proof (Singha, www.languageinindia.com). Again, resolving this dispute was not our goal. A far more rigorous study of Bishnupriya, as well as of Bengali and Assamese, would be required, and that is simply outside the scope of our research. A summary of what we found regarding the lexical similarity between Bangla and Bishnupriya can be found in section 2.1., but even this data is not conclusive because it is difficult to know what percentage of Bishnupriya words have been more recently borrowed from Bangla, Sylhetti, or Assamese.

Currently, Bishnupriya is spoken in Manipur, Tripura, and Assam states in India, in some parts of Myanmar, and in Sylhet division in Bangladesh. There are only a small number of Bishnupriya remaining in Manipur state (in the Jiribam subdistrict) since most Bishnupriya fled Manipur to neighboring lands and countries in the eighteenth century. For those who remained, it was difficult to keep and promote their mother tongue due to the dominant influence of the Meitei people, culture, and language.

Bishnupriya has two main dialects: 1) Rajar Gang (or king's-village speech), and 2) Madoi Gang (or queen's-village speech). What is interesting is that, in present-day Bangladesh, the dialects are not divided by geography, but by clan. That is, two villages that lie side-by-side may have different dialects, and people from the king's village would not be allowed to marry those from the queen's village. Originally, geography may have played more of a role in the dialect difference:

“The Madoi Gang dialect was spoken probably in the Khangabok-Heirolk area and the Rajar Gang dialect, in the Bishnupur Ningthankhong area of Manipur. Morphological difference between the two dialects is negligible, but from the point of vocabulary, there are differences.” (Singha, manipuri.freeservers.com)

Bishnupriya is primarily used for oral communication, but there is also a small, committed group of people who want to promote Bishnupriya in written form. In Bangladesh, there are literary magazines and books that are being published in Bishnupriya and, in Assam state, Bishnupriya is being taught in government primary schools. Also, although Bishnupriya is now written exclusively using the Bangla script, this wasn't always so. According to some, Bishnupriya was written using the Devanagari script prior to the takeover of Manipur by the Meiteis.

W. Shaw and Raj Mohan Nath, two eminent scholars, are of the view that Bishnupriya with its Devanagari script had been the court language of Manipur and was replaced by king Khagenba [in A.D. 1627]. R.M. Nath says "so in Manipur in spite of Devanagari scripts which the kala-chaias might have been using, the Meitei when they came into power introduced the new scripts." (Singha, manipuri.org).

In spite of all the controversy (or perhaps because of it), it becomes all the more clear that the Bishnupriya people in Bangladesh value their mother tongue and see it as an important part of their culture and heritage. They see it as a distinguishing hallmark for the Bishnupriya people and a factor that unites their community to give it strength and an identity.

2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

2.1. Study of the dialects of the language

Lexical similarity results show that, in spite of the existence of two dialects and the geographical separation of some villages, there is a high degree of similarity in the Bishnupriya spoken in Bangladesh. Either the Rajar Gang or the Madoi Gang could be chosen to be developed without adversely affecting the usability of materials. There may be reasons for choosing one variety over another (such as demographics), but concerns over comprehension should not be that reason.

Comparing the Bishnupriya wordlist with the Bangla wordlist suggests that Bishnupriya is not a dialect of Bangla. However, we hesitate to make any conclusive claims since Bishnupriya may have adopted words from Sylhetti and Assamese over time, and these words could account for the lower degree of similarity.

2.2. Language use, attitudes, and vitality study

Mother-tongue Bishnupriya speakers consistently reported that their mother tongue is widely used in Bishnupriya villages. In certain domains, such as at a temple, Bangla is apparently used in conjunction with Bishnupriya. In spite of this mix of languages in certain domains, most Bishnupriya do appear to speak Bishnupriya most of the time when they are with other Bishnupriya speakers.

Probably because Bishnupriya is widely used in Bishnupriya villages, this is seen as the most useful language to know in Bishnupriya villages and the language mothers should speak with their children. Still, Bishnupriya speakers acknowledge the need to know other languages, primarily Bangla. They are of mixed opinion as to whether Bishnupriya or Bangla should be the medium of education for young students, but they do tend to think children should speak Bishnupriya better.

As nearly all Bishnupriya children attend Bangla-medium schools, the current trend appears to be that Bangla will become increasingly prevalent and important in their daily lives. Although Bishnupriya is reportedly being used fluently by children today, it is very possible that

as they become more fluent in Bangla, they will be less apt to use Bishnupriya widely. Also, an important percentage of the population seems to believe Bishnupriya is either being complemented with or replaced by Bangla. Furthermore, numbers indicate that a high literacy rate in Bangla is a threat to the vitality of the Bishnupriya language in Bangladesh.

Possibly as a way of preserving their language and culture, Bishnupriya speakers say they are very interested in having their children learn to read and write in Bishnupriya. They seem to think this would be good for the children themselves and for the Bishnupriya community as a whole. Thus, while Bishnupriya speakers concede the need for Bangla, they also demonstrate a pride in their own language.

2.3. Bilingualism study

Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh feel they are very bilingual and even multilingual, as nearly all speak some Bangla and as some speak other languages, too. Testing shows that even those Bishnupriya speakers who are least likely to speak Bangla well could likely manage a routine conversation in Bangla without too much difficulty.

Education is the most influential factor in a Bishnupriya speaker's Bangla ability. Because most Bishnupriya people in this generation are attending school through class 10 and then passing their SSC exams, it is likely that future generations of Bishnupriya will be increasingly bilingual in Bangla. In fact, it is very likely that in another generation, the Bishnupriya population as a whole will have "very good" or even "excellent" proficiency in Bangla.

3. STUDY OF THE DIALECTS OF THE LANGUAGE

3.1. Procedures

Comparing the vocabulary of language varieties is one way to measure the lexical similarity among them. During the Bishnupriya survey, lexical similarities among various Bishnupriya villages were calculated as a percentage of words from a 307-item list which resemble each other in sound and meaning (Blair 1990:28–29). In each village, a wordlist was gathered from one person, and sometimes checked with a second person separately. Because of the great similarity among most of the varieties and, more importantly, because of the ease and frequency with which the Bishnupriya have regular contact with those from other villages, it was judged that checking with a second person would not be very meaningful. Thus, a second person was used only to check obviously questionable, confusing, or aberrant data.

The researchers transcribed the wordlists using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) given in appendix A. They then compared the wordlists by following the established procedures outlined in appendix B.1. The *WordSurv*[®] computer program designed by SIL (Wimbish 1989) was used to do the final lexical similarity calculations.

3.2. Discussion of sample

Wordlists were taken at the following Bishnupriya villages in Bangladesh from speakers who had lived there for a number of years: Dhonitila, Gulerhaor, Machimpur, Madhapur, Soi Sri, and Tilakpur.

These villages were first of all selected to give a geographically diverse sampling; no two villages are close to one another, and the villages are situated across the whole of the band of land where the Bishnupriya live. Furthermore, villages were chosen to make sure that the two main dialects of Bishnupriya—Rajar Gang (king’s-village dialect) and Madoi Gang (queen’s-village dialect)—would be adequately represented. (Figure 3 shows how these villages are distributed across all four districts of Sylhet division.)

Generally, only one full wordlist was taken from each site. However, where there seemed to be confusion over the meaning of a word or a question about the pronunciation of a word, those words were elicited from a second person from the village. In cases where two different but valid words were given by the two people, both were accepted.

3.3. Results

According to the lexical similarity study, each of the two dialects has a higher degree of lexical similarity among its own variety than with the other. This confirms what Bishnupriya speakers told us. This is the case even though some Madoi Gang and Rajar Gang villages are closer to one another than to another village of the same dialect. The results suggest that geographical proximity has not erased the dialectal differences, though the trend will likely be that those differences will decrease rather than increase. Figure 4 gives the lexical similarity percentage among all the villages. The letters in parentheses are the code for the village used in the wordlists found in appendix B.3.

Figure 4: Lexical similarity percentage matrix

	Gulerhaor (c)					
93		Dhonitila (d)				
93	91	Soi Sri (b)				
91	93	90	Machimpur (e)			
84	85	82	83	Madhapur (f)		
83	84	82	81	88	Tilakpur (a)	
43	42	43	45	41	42	Bangla (0)

Among the Rajar Gang villages (Gulerhaor, Dhonitila, Soi Sri, and Machimpur), the percentage of lexical similarity ranged from 90–93%; between the two Madoi Gang villages (Madhapur and Tilakpur), the percentage was 88%. However, when the two dialects were compared to one another, the percentage of lexical similarity dropped to 81–85%.

What is more telling than the fact of the drop in percentage, however, is that the percentage does not drop very much. A lexical similarity of 81% is still high and gives an

indication that speakers of the two dialects should be able to easily understand one another; interviews and observation confirm this.

While Bishnupriya speakers acknowledge some differences in vocabulary between the two dialects, they also acknowledge that all Bishnupriya people can understand one another easily. When subjects were asked (on the sociolinguistic questionnaire question #1a) in which villages Bishnupriya people speak very differently from themselves, all but one person out of fifty-eight respondents replied, “none.” (And the one person could not give the name of the place where the very different type of Bishnupriya was spoken.) Moreover, during our many visits to Bishnupriya villages, we were able to witness this ease of communication across dialects.

The percentage similarity between Bishnupriya and Bangla is quite uniform, ranging from 41–45%. While the percentage isn’t high enough to identify Bishnupriya as a dialect of Bangla, it does help to explain the high degree of bilingualism in the Bishnupriya community as well as the perception to outsiders that “Bishnupriya sounds quite similar to Bangla.” The percentages themselves do not explain whether the Bishnupriya language is inherently similar to Bangla or whether many borrowed words from Bangla have entered the Bishnupriya language. The fact that basic vocabulary (for example, numbers, which are less likely to be replaced by borrowed words) is nearly identical with Bangla suggests that there is some kind of a historical relationship between the two languages that goes beyond mere borrowings. However, because the Sylheti dialect and Assamese were not investigated for this research, it would be fruitless to conjecture any further on the exact location of Bishnupriya on the Bangla-Sylheti-Assamese continuum.

4. LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDES, AND VITALITY STUDY

4.1. Procedures

A language-use study is a method used to examine language choice. This is done by asking subjects which language(s) they use in various domains. Domains are everyday situations in which one language variety is considered more appropriate than another (Fasold 1984:183).

A study of language attitudes is generally carried out in an effort to ascertain people’s perceptions of the different speech varieties with which they have contact. By studying how various languages are perceived, it is possible to determine how positive or negative people are towards their own language.

A study of language vitality is designed to assess the probability of whether a language will be used by mother-tongue speakers in the future. Such an assessment is an important part of the recommendations of a sociolinguistic report because any recommendations regarding language and literature development are dependent upon the projected long-term vitality of the language.

A sociolinguistic questionnaire was administered as a way of gathering information about language attitudes, use, and vitality. There were also questions concerning bilingualism and

dialect boundaries, the results of which are discussed in their corresponding sections. The questions were generally asked in Bangla. If a given subject was not fluent in Bangla, the questions were asked in Bishnupriya. The questionnaire is found in appendix C.1., while subject responses are given in appendix D.

4.2. Discussion of sample

The questionnaire was administered to fifty-eight subjects in five locations. The subjects were chosen to represent the population as a whole with regards to age, sex, and education levels. Among the fifty-eight subjects, thirty-four were younger (defined as less than 40 years old), and twenty-four were 40 years old or older. Thirty-two of the subjects were male, and twenty-six were female. Furthermore, twenty-six subjects were educated (defined as having passed their SSC exams) and thirty-two subjects had not passed their SSCs and therefore were categorized at “uneducated.” The mother tongue of each of the fifty-eight subjects was Bishnupriya, and the mother tongue of each of the subjects’ fathers and mothers was also Bishnupriya.

The five test locations were chosen to represent the areas within Bangladesh where Bishnupriya speakers live. These locations were chosen based on factors such as remoteness of the village and location of the village in relation to other Bishnupriya villages. All five villages were located in Sylhet division, one in each of Habiganj, Sunamganj, and Sylhet districts and two in Moulvibazar district. Two Moulvibazar district locations were chosen because this is where the majority of Bishnupriya speakers live.

4.3. Results

For all questions in the questionnaire, data will be presented for all fifty-eight subjects combined. Individual responses and biographical data for each subject are given in appendices D and G.3, respectively.

4.3.1. Language use

The questionnaire contained three questions that asked subjects which language they speak in a given situation. The aggregate of subjects’ answers are given in figure 5 according to one of four categories: Bishnupriya, Bangla, Meitei, and Sanskrit. The results are given as a percentage of subjects who use a particular language in each of the three situations. Because some subjects said they use more than one language in some situations, the percentages for two of the questions are greater than 100 percent.

Figure 5: Language use among the Bishnupriya.

Question	Response			
	Bishnupriya	Bangla	Meitei	Sanskrit
What language do you use... ...at home?	98%	-	2%	-
...with neighbors?	100%	3%	-	-
...at a religious festival?	97%	24%	-	2%

Results from the language-use questions indicate that the Bishnupriya language is widely used in Bishnupriya villages in Bangladesh. This is apparently true whether Bishnupriya speakers are conversing at home, with neighbors, or at a religious festival.

Of the fifty-eight questionnaire subjects, only one said he does not use Bishnupriya at home. Instead, he reportedly speaks Meitei. Also, while all subjects said they speak Bishnupriya with their neighbors, two subjects (3%) also said they sometimes speak Bangla with neighbors. Both of these subjects were younger, educated men.

Most interestingly, Bangla is apparently used in conjunction with Bishnupriya at religious festivals. Although most subjects (97%) said they speak Bishnupriya at the religious festivals, fourteen (24%) also said they speak Bangla at such festivals. One subject said he speaks Sanskrit in this situation, too. This mix of languages at religious festivals may be because many of the priests in these areas are Meitei. Therefore, Bishnupriya speakers may at times feel more comfortable speaking with them in Bangla. Also, non-Bishnupriya people attend the major Bishnupriya festivals out of interest. Bishnupriya speakers would have to speak with such visitors in Bangla.

In spite of this mix of languages in certain domains, most Bishnupriya do appear to speak Bishnupriya most of the time when they are with other Bishnupriya speakers.

4.3.2. Language attitudes

Attitudes regarding language use

Along with being asked what language they use in various situations, questionnaire subjects were asked their opinion about what language *should* be used in two different situations. The results from these questions are given in figure 6. As in the language use section, participants gave more than one answer to these two questions. Thus, the responses equal more than 100 percent.

Figure 6: Summary of responses regarding what languages should be used.

Question	Response		
	Bishnupriya	Bangla	English
What language should be used...			
...between a mother and her children?	100%	5%	-
...as the medium in primary school?	70%	39%	4%

The responses displayed in figure 6 suggest that Bishnupriya speakers feel strongly that Bishnupriya should be spoken between a mother and her children, although three subjects (5%) did say a mother should use both Bishnupriya and Bangla with her children.

Respondents were not as like-minded about what language should be used as the medium of education in primary schools. Seventy percent of the respondents (forty subjects) said Bishnupriya should be the medium of education in primary school while twenty-two subjects (39%) said the medium should be Bangla. Also, two subjects said English should be the medium of education. This indicates that a few Bishnupriya speakers see an importance in teaching in

English, an international language, while more see an importance in teaching in Bangla, the national language of Bangladesh. Most, however, place importance on first teaching children in their mother tongue. A sum of the percentages also shows that several people think children should be taught in more than one language.

Attitudes towards other languages

In assessing people's attitudes towards their own language, it is often helpful to assess their attitudes towards other languages. Two questions on the questionnaire were designed for this purpose. These questions and their responses are given in figures 7 and 8.

Figure 7: Summary of responses to the question, "Do you think it's okay if your children speak another language better than your MT?"

Response	
Yes	No
28%	72%

Figure 8: Summary of responses to the question, "What is the most useful language to know in your village?"

Response	
Bishnupriya	Bangla
98%	2%

Figure 7 shows that a significant number of subjects (28 percent) think it is okay for their children to speak another language better than Bishnupriya. Still, the majority of subjects (72 percent) said this would not be okay. Furthermore, figure 8 shows that nearly all subjects (98 percent) said Bishnupriya is the most useful language to know in their villages. These responses indicate an acknowledgment of the need to know other languages but also a pride in Bishnupriya speakers' own language.

Attitudes towards literacy classes

Finally, with regards to language attitudes, two sets of questions were asked about literacy classes in Bishnupriya. Figure 9 displays a summary of subjects' responses to the first part of each of these sets of questions.

Figure 9: Summary of responses to language attitudes questions regarding literacy classes.

Question	Response		
	Yes	No	If able
Children's class	100%	-	-
Pay for children	95%	-	5%
Adults' class	78%	22%	-
Pay for adults	96%	-	4%

Question key for figure 9:

Children's class = "If your community leaders set up a class to teach young children how to read and write in your MT, would you send your children?"

Pay for children = “Would you pay a little for such classes (for children)?”

Adults’ class = “If your community leaders set up a class to teach adults how to read and write in your MT, would you go?”

Pay for adults = “Would you pay a little for such classes (for adults)?”

The responses summarized in figure 9 show strong positive attitudes towards Bishnupriya children learning to read and write in Bishnupriya. All subjects said they would send their children to such a class, and nearly all subjects (95 percent) said they would pay for their children to be able to attend such a class. The others (5 percent) said they would pay for such a class if they were able to do so.

When asked if they themselves would go to a Bishnupriya literacy class, subjects’ overall response was slightly less positive. Forty-five subjects (78 percent) said they would go to such a class while thirteen subjects (22 percent) said they would not. Among the forty-five subjects who said they would go to an adult Bishnupriya literacy class, nearly all (96 percent) said they would pay for such a class.

Another part of each of these two sets of questions about Bishnupriya literacy classes asked subjects why they had responded as they did. Figures 10 and 11 display their reasons.

Figure 10: Reasons subjects gave for why they responded as they did to the question about sending their children to Bishnupriya literacy class.

Reason	Response	
	Yes	No
To learn their MT (better)	62%	-
To help with their education	5%	-
To develop Bishnupriya (and its people)	17%	-
To retain their language, culture, traditions	14%	-
Other	7%	-

As figure 10 shows, the most common and obvious reason subjects gave for sending their children to a Bishnupriya literacy class was to learn Bishnupriya. Thirty-six subjects (62 percent) gave this reason while another three subjects (5 percent) mentioned that they thought this would help with the children’s education in general.

Other common reasons had more to do with Bishnupriya society and less to do with education. For example, ten subjects (17 percent) said they would send their children as a way of developing Bishnupriya and its people. Another eight subjects (14 percent) wanted to use such a class as a way of retaining Bishnupriya language, culture, and traditions. This latter answer is an indication that at least some Bishnupriya people sense the Bishnupriya way of life is being lost or at least threatened. “Other” answers included “To express their feelings,” “To excite them about Bishnupriya,” “It’s important,” and “It’s their right.”

Figure 11: Reasons subjects gave for why they responded as they did to the question about going to an adult Bishnupriya literacy class.

Reason	Response	
	Yes	No
To learn their MT (better)	62%	-
To develop Bishnupriya (and its people)	16%	-
To retain their language, culture, traditions	9%	-
To be with others, to socialize	11%	-
This isn't important.	-	31%
Already know Bishnupriya	-	23%
No need	-	15%
Other	9%	31%

As was the case with Bishnupriya classes for children, the most common reason subjects gave for saying they themselves would attend a Bishnupriya literacy class was to learn Bishnupriya. Among the forty-five subjects who said they would attend such a class, twenty-eight subjects (62 percent) gave this reason. Again, other common reasons had more to do with Bishnupriya society. Seven of the forty-five subjects (16 percent) who responded positively to attending class said they would go as a way of developing Bishnupriya, and another four subjects (9 percent) said they would go in an effort to retain Bishnupriya. Interestingly, five people (11 percent) said they would attend class out of social interests. "Other" responses included "For the future of Bangladesh," "It would be fun," "To then teach his kids," and "To encourage others."

Among the thirteen subjects who said they would not attend an adult Bishnupriya literacy class, four (31 percent) said such a class would not be important for them. Similar reasoning was given by another two subjects (15 percent), who said they saw no need for such. Three other subjects (23 percent) said they already know Bishnupriya, and one subject each gave reasons of being too old, too busy, having no desire, or thinking such classes wouldn't be good.

All of these responses indicate that Bishnupriya speakers as a whole are very interested in having their children learn to read and write in Bishnupriya. They seem to think this would be good for the children themselves and for the Bishnupriya community as a whole. Many Bishnupriya adults may also be interested in attending literacy classes in their mother tongue, but the enthusiasm for such does not seem to be as strong as that for Bishnupriya children's literacy classes.

4.3.3. Language vitality

Vitality according to children's speech patterns

In an attempt to assess whether Bishnupriya will be used by mother tongue speakers in future generations, questionnaire subjects were asked several language vitality questions. First they were asked about the languages that children speak and the ways in which they speak them. A summary of responses is given in figure 12.

Figure 12: Summary of responses to three language vitality questions.

Question	Response		
	Yes	No	No Data
Speak well	86%	12%	2%
Another language better	10%	90%	-
Before school	62%	38%	-

Question key for figure 12:

Speak well = “Do young people (age 10) in your village speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?”

Another language better = “Do children in your village speak another language better than your language?”

Before school = “Do many children in your village know another language before starting school?”

The answers to each of these questions presented in figure 12 indicate that Bishnupriya children are still using Bishnupriya. Fifty subjects (86 percent) said Bishnupriya children speak Bishnupriya well, and fifty-two subjects (90 percent) said Bishnupriya children speak Bishnupriya as their best language. This is an indication that the Bishnupriya language is not being lost but instead that it is being used fluently by children today.

On the other hand, a majority of subjects (62 percent) said Bishnupriya children *do* know another language before starting school. Among the subjects who were asked, all said this language is Bangla. As the education level of Bishnupriya youth increases, they are likely to learn more and more Bangla, which is the medium of education for most. Thus, although Bishnupriya is reportedly being used fluently by children today, it is very possible that as they become more fluent in Bangla, they will be less apt to use Bishnupriya widely.

One other question asked specifically about the language Bishnupriya children will speak in the future. A summary of responses to this question is given in figure 13.

Figure 13: Summary of responses to the question, “When the children in this village grow up and have children of their own, what language do you think those children will speak?”

Response			
Bishnupriya	Bangla	Bishnupriya & Bangla	Do not know
72%	7%	19%	2%

The responses in figure 13 support the conclusions drawn above. Forty-two subjects (72 percent) did say they think the next generation of Bishnupriya children will speak Bishnupriya, but a significant number of subjects (7 percent) said those children will speak Bangla. Furthermore, eleven subjects (19 percent) said that in the future, Bishnupriya children will speak both Bishnupriya and Bangla. This indicates that an important percentage of the population believe Bishnupriya is either being complemented with or even replaced by Bangla. Again, as nearly all Bishnupriya children attend Bangla-medium schools, the current trend appears to be that Bangla will become increasingly prevalent and important in their daily lives.

Vitality according to literacy ability

In addition to being asked about children's speech patterns, subjects were asked about their own literacy abilities. Two straightforward questions were asked. Their responses are given in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Summary of responses to questions about literacy abilities.

Questions	Response				
	Yes	Some	Little	Can read; can't write	No
Bishnupriya literate	60%	2%	9%	7%	22%
Bangla literate	93%	0%	0%	0%	7%

Question key for figure 14:

Bishnupriya literate = "Can you read and write letters and messages in Bishnupriya?"

Bangla literate = "Can you read and write letters and messages in Bangla?"

Among the fifty-eight sociolinguistic questionnaire subjects, thirty-five (60 percent) said they are able to read and write in Bishnupriya while nearly all (93 percent) said they are able to read and write in Bangla. Also, a number of subjects qualified their answer about Bishnupriya literacy by saying they know "some" or "a little" or by saying they could read but not write in Bishnupriya. Answers regarding Bangla literacy were not qualified in such a way. This suggests that even those who say they are literate in Bishnupriya may not be as fluent or as comfortable in reading and writing Bishnupriya as they are in reading and writing Bangla. The numbers also suggest that such a high literacy rate in Bangla is a threat to the vitality of the Bishnupriya language in Bangladesh.

4.3.4. Other aspects of language

The sociolinguistic questionnaire contained questions about Bishnupriya speakers' language-use patterns, their language attitudes, and the vitality of the Bishnupriya language. The results of these questions have been discussed in sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, and 4.3.3. The questionnaire also contained several questions about Bishnupriya people's speaking and comprehension abilities in other languages. The results of these questions are discussed in section 5, bilingualism study, along with the results of a Bangla bilingualism test that was administered to thirty-eight Bishnupriya speakers.

There were also two dialect boundary questions in the questionnaire. The outcomes of these questions have been discussed in section 3, Study of the dialects of the language, along with a discussion of the results from wordlist comparisons.

5. BILINGUALISM STUDY

Bilingualism refers to the ability of an individual or an entire speech community to handle communication in a language other than the mother tongue. Among the Bishnupriya in

Bangladesh, two types of bilingualism data were collected: perceived bilingualism and measured Bangla bilingualism.

5.1. Perceived bilingualism

5.1.1. Procedures

First, data about subjects' *perceived* ability in various languages was collected. This was done through a series of five questions, which were administered orally as part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. As mentioned in section 4, Language use, attitudes, and vitality study, the questions were generally asked in Bangla. If a given subject was not fluent in Bangla, the questions were asked in Bishnupriya. The questionnaire is found in appendix C.1.

5.1.2. Discussion of sample

The five questions that asked subjects about their perceived ability to use various languages were part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire discussed in section 4. Thus, the discussion of sample for these fifty-eight subjects is the same as is given in section 4.

5.1.3. Results

For all five questions regarding perceived bilingualism, data will be presented for all fifty-eight subjects combined. In addition, when responses are notably different according to a particular demographic factor, that will be mentioned. Individual responses and biographical data for each subject are given in appendices D.4 and G.3, respectively.

The most basic question about perceived bilingual ability simply asked subjects what languages they speak. This question was followed-up with a question that asked subjects when they began to learn each language that they are able to speak. A summary of the responses to these questions is given in figure 15.

Figure 15: Summary of responses to questions about what languages people speak and when they learned them.

Question	Response					
	Bangla	Hindi	English	Meitei	Assamese	none
<i>Languages speak</i>	98%	29%	19%	16%	3%	2%
<i>Average age learned</i>	7 years old	16 years old	16 years old	15 years old	32 years old	-

Question key for figure 15:

Languages speak = "Other than your MT, what languages do you speak?"

Average age learned = "At what age did you begin to learn each?"

Subjects' responses in figure 15 indicate that nearly all Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh feel they can speak Bangla, as fifty-seven subjects (98 percent) responded in this way. The second most common language that Bishnupriya speakers reportedly are able to speak is Hindi. Seventeen subjects (29 percent) said they are able to speak this language while eleven

subjects (19 percent) said they can speak English. Another nine people (16 percent) said they speak Meitei, and two people (3 percent) said they speak Assamese. Finally, one of the subjects (2 percent) said she cannot speak any language other than her mother tongue. Thus, Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh feel they are very bilingual and even multilingual, as nearly all speak some Bangla and as some speak other languages, too.

After subjects named the languages they speak, they were asked when they started to learn these languages. Of the fifty-seven respondents who said they speak Bangla, the average age at which they started to learn was 7 years. This average age is likely a reflection of the fact that many younger subjects learned Bangla when, or even before they started government school, while many older subjects learned Bangla as teenagers or adults. The average age at which Bangla is learned will likely decrease in the next generation.

The age at which Bishnupriya speakers start to learn a second language other than Bangla is when they are older. They reportedly start to learn Hindi, English, and/or Meitei in their mid-teens, and the two men who said they speak Assamese, learned this language as adults. Many who said they know Hindi, commented that they had learned this from watching television, and most of those who know some English, started learning in secondary school. Interestingly, of the nine subjects (16 percent) who said they speak Meitei, eight were older and only one was younger. It is very possible, then, that few Bishnupriya speakers in the next generation will speak Meitei.

The results of these two questions indicate that Bangla is by far the most common second language among Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh. It is also the language that Bishnupriya speakers learn earlier than any other second language.

The questionnaire subjects were also asked to name their most fluent and second most fluent languages. Their responses are given in figure 16.

Figure 16: Summary of responses to questions about language fluency.

Question	Response		
	Bishnupriya	Bangla	NA
Best language	97%	3%	-
Second best	3%	95%	2%

Question key for figure 16:

Best language = "What language do you speak best?"

Second best = "What language do you speak second best?"

Answer key:

NA = Not applicable

Subjects' responses to these two questions about language fluency indicate that most Bishnupriya speakers think Bishnupriya is their best language. This could mean that they are most fluent in speaking Bishnupriya or that they are most comfortable using Bishnupriya. Of the fifty-six subjects (97 percent) who said Bishnupriya is their best language, all but one said their second best language is Bangla. This question was not applicable to the one subject who said she does not speak any language other than Bishnupriya (see figure 15).

Two subjects (3%) did say Bangla is their best language. Both of these subjects are younger males who have been educated in Bangla medium through at least class 8. Also, they both said Bishnupriya is their second best language.

Finally, after subjects named their second best language, they were then asked about their perceived ability in that language. Figure 17 displays a summary of responses to this question.

Figure 17: Summary of responses to the question “Can you always say what you want to say in your second-best language?”

Response		
Yes	No	NA
74%	24%	2%

The question in figure 17 is an attempt to ascertain just how confident Bishnupriya speakers are with using a second language. A majority of subjects (74 percent) said they can always say what they want to say in their second-best language. This indicates that Bishnupriya speakers in general are pretty comfortable using a second language to communicate, at least in the domains in which a second language is needed. Of the fourteen subjects (24 percent) who said they cannot always say what they want to in their second-best language, one is one of the two who said Bishnupriya is his second-best language (see figure 16). Also, of these fourteen subjects, ten were uneducated while the other four were educated. It can be assumed, then, that as Bishnupriya speakers become more and more educated, they will become more and more fluent in and comfortable with speaking Bangla.

5.2. Measured Bangla bilingualism

5.2.1. Procedures

The second type of bilingualism data that was collected was subjects' *measured* ability in Bangla. This was done through the use of a Bangla SRT. The idea behind the SRT is basic: participants listen to each of fifteen carefully selected sentences one at a time and are asked to repeat exactly what they have heard. Each repeated sentence is then scored according to a four-point scale (0–3), based on the participant's ability to mimic a given sentence. The results are then expressed as a point total out of forty-five possible points. They are also expressed as an equivalent bilingualism proficiency level, or reported proficiency evaluation (RPE) level. Figure 18 displays SRT score ranges with the equivalent RPE level for the Bangla SRT (Kim 2003). Appendix E.1 gives a detailed description of the RPE levels and of SRT testing, and appendix E.2 contains the final form of the Bangla SRT.

Figure 18: Score ranges on the Bangla SRT corresponding to RPE levels.

SRT Raw Score Range	Equivalent RPE level	Summary description of proficiency level
40 – 45	4+	Approaching native speaker proficiency
34 – 39	4	Excellent proficiency
28 – 33	3+	Very good, general proficiency
22 – 27	3	Good, general proficiency
15 – 21	2+	Good, basic proficiency
9 – 14	2	Adequate, basic proficiency
3 – 8	1+	Limited, basic proficiency
0 – 2	1	Minimal, limited proficiency

5.2.2. Discussion of sample

SRT methodology was developed as a means of testing a target community's level of bilingualism in a national language or in another language of wider communication. In this case the target community was Bishnupriya speakers living in Bangladesh, and the national language tested was Bangla.

A total of thirty-eight mother-tongue Bishnupriya speakers were tested using the Bangla SRT. Among the thirty-eight subjects, nineteen were younger (defined as less than 40 years old), and nineteen subjects were 40 years old or older. Twenty of the subjects were male, and eighteen were female. Finally, nineteen subjects had been educated through less than class 10 or had not passed their SSC exams while the other nineteen subjects had achieved at least SSC pass. All thirty-eight SRT subjects come from Tilakpur, a relatively large Bishnupriya community in the heart of where Bishnupriya speakers live within Bangladesh.

5.2.3. Results

As is the case with perceived bilingual ability, measured bilingual ability also frequently correlates with demographic factors such as sex, age, level of education, and amount of travel. To adequately account for these factors, a sample of at least five people was tested for each combination of demographic factors being researched. This section therefore presents the findings both as an aggregate for all thirty-eight subjects and according to various combinations of age, sex, and education level. Each subject's SRT test scores are given in appendix E.3 and the subjects' biodata is in appendix G.4.

The thirty-eight mother-tongue Bishnupriya speakers who took the Bangla bilingualism test had an average SRT score of 28.1 out of a possible 45 points. This SRT score equates to an RPE level 3+, described in section 5.2.1 as "very good, general proficiency." A person who speaks a second language at this level is one whose vocabulary is adequate to cope with most situations. The speed of his speech is clearly nonnative, but he is easily understood. Furthermore, comprehension for someone at an RPE level 3+ is very good. Perhaps uneducated or slurred speech is difficult for this person to understand, but otherwise he has no need for repetition or rephrasing (Radloff 1991:153). Thus, the average Bishnupriya speaker in Bangladesh is able to communicate well in Bangla in a broad range of domains and depths of conversation.

Looking at the SRT data according to the three demographic factors of age, education, and sex shows that there are certain groups of Bishnupriya speakers who tend to be better Bangla speakers than other groups. Figure 19 gives statistics for each of two groups according to each of these three factors. It also gives the aggregate scores discussed in the previous paragraph.

Figure 19: Bangla SRT results according to demographic categories.

Overall	Age		Education		Sex	
	Younger	Older	Educated	Uneducated	Male	Female
N = 38	N = 19	N = 19	N = 19	N = 19	N = 20	N = 18
SRT = 28.1	SRT = 31.7	SRT = 24.4	SRT = 32.5	SRT = 23.6	SRT = 28.5	SRT = 27.6
RPE = 3+	RPE = 3+	RPE = 3	RPE = 3+	RPE = 3	RPE = 3+	RPE = 3+
SD = 8.6	SD = 16.7	SD = 7.6	SD = 6.1	SD = 8.6	SD = 7.0	SD = 10.3
r = 10–45	r = 12–45	r = 10–35	r = 21–45	r = 10–41	r = 17–40	r = 10–45

N = sample size

SRT = average SRT score

RPE = corresponding RPE level

SD = standard deviation

r = range of scores

The numbers in figure 19 show that within two of the demographic factors studied, there is a difference in the SRT scores and their corresponding RPE levels. Looking at the demographic factor of age as an example shows that younger subjects scored an average of 31.7 on the 45-point SRT while the older subjects scored an average of 24.4. These scores correspond to RPE levels of “3+” and “3,” respectively. Thus, Bishnupriya speakers in general are becoming more bilingual in Bangla; however, even the older generation’s corresponding RPE level 3 is quite respectable, being described as “good, general proficiency.”

Also, the high standard deviation among the younger group of subjects indicates a fairly wide variation in scores within this group. In other words, some younger subjects did very well on the SRT while others did relatively poorly. Among the older group of subjects, however, the smaller standard deviation indicates less deviation from the norm.

The most significant demographic factor studied was education. Figure 19 shows that Bishnupriya speakers who have at least passed their SSC exams averaged an SRT score of 32.5. This score corresponds to an RPE level 3+, which is briefly described as “very good, general proficiency.” The uneducated Bishnupriya speakers, however, scored an average of only 23.6 on the SRT, which corresponds to an RPE level 3, described as “good, general proficiency.” In fact, among the thirty-eight individual SRT subjects, the eight lowest scores were of uneducated subjects.

The Community Information Questionnaire (CIQ) data displayed in appendix F show that these days it is common for Bishnupriya speakers to attend school through at least class 10. Question 15 of the CIQ asked village leaders how many young people in their villages complete class 10, and most leaders answered that “most” or “almost all” do so. Thus, it can be assumed

that as more and more Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh are more and more educated, they will become increasingly bilingual in Bangla.

The sex of a subject was not an important factor in how well he or she performed on the Bangla SRT. The twenty male Bishnupriya speakers who were tested averaged an SRT score of 28.5 while the eighteen female Bishnupriya speakers who were tested averaged an SRT score of 27.6. Both of these correspond to a low RPE level 3+, and both indicate decent bilingual ability in Bangla.

The higher standard deviation among females does show wider variation in their Bangla ability. This is likely a reflection of another factor that is influencing the bilingual ability of Bishnupriya females. Looking at all the possible combinations of the three factors of age, education, and sex reveals some interesting indications. These results are given in figure 20.

Figure 20: Bangla SRT results according to combinations of demographic categories.

	Educated		Uneducated	
	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
Male	N = 5	N = 6	N = 4	N = 5
	SRT = 36.8	SRT = 28.8	SRT = 24.5	SRT = 23.0
	RPE = 4 SD = 3.3	RPE = 3+ SD = 5.0	RPE = 3 SD = 5.0	RPE = 3 SD = 5.8
Female	N = 5	N = 3	N = 5	N = 5
	SRT = 34.4	SRT = 29.7	SRT = 29.8	SRT = 17.4
	RPE = 4 SD = 6.3	RPE = 3+ SD = 7.6	RPE = 3+ SD = 11.5	RPE = 2+ SD = 7.3

N = sample size

SRT = average SRT score

RPE = corresponding RPE level

SD = standard deviation

The three factors of age, education, and sex result in eight possible combinations. Figure 20 shows that, among these eight possible combinations, only three older, educated females were tested. This is because older Bishnupriya women who have passed their SSCs are still somewhat rare. Conversely, only four younger, uneducated males were tested. This is because nearly all younger Bishnupriya males are educated through at least their SSCs. Finding younger Bishnupriya men who had not passed their SSCs was difficult. Because the sample sizes for these two groups is less than five, we cannot draw strong conclusions based on the numbers in those two boxes.

It is not surprising that younger, educated males performed the best on the SRT with an average score of 36.8 (see figure 20). Conversely, those subjects who were older, uneducated females performed the poorest with an average SRT score of 17.4. These scores correspond to RPE levels “4” and “2+,” respectively. This means that the most bilingual group of Bishnupriya speakers can speak Bangla with “excellent proficiency.” It also means that even the least bilingual group of Bishnupriya speakers are able to speak Bangla with “good, basic proficiency.”

In other words, even those Bishnupriya speakers who are least likely to speak Bangla well could likely manage a routine conversation in Bangla without too much difficulty.

The younger, educated females scored nearly as well as their male counterparts. With an average SRT score of 34.4 and an RPE level of 4, this group of Bishnupriya speakers also has “excellent proficiency” in Bangla. Because most young Bishnupriya speakers today are being educated at least through their SSC exams and because there is apparently little difference between males’ and females’ ability in Bangla, it is very likely that in another generation the Bishnupriya population as a whole will have “very good” or even “excellent” proficiency in Bangla.

Finally, a look at how the thirty-eight individual subjects scored on the SRT shows that even today some Bishnupriya speakers speak Bangla basically as well as native Bangla speakers. The range for individual scores is given in figure 21.

Figure 21: Range of individual SRT scores according to RPE level.

RPE level	SRT scores	Subjects
1	0–2	0%
1+	3–8	0%
2	9–14	8%
2+	15–21	18%
3	22–27	16%
3+	28–33	29%
4	34–39	18%
4+	40–45	11%

Figure 21 shows that 11 percent of the SRT subjects (four subjects) scored 40–45 points on the 45-point Bangla SRT. In fact, one young woman scored a perfect 45 points. Another 18 percent (seven subjects) scored 34–39 points. This means that nearly one-third of the subjects had excellent proficiency in Bangla or were “approaching native speaker proficiency.” Another 45 percent (seventeen subjects) of the subjects scored 22–33 points on the SRT, meaning that they were at a level “3” or “3+” in Bangla with “good” or “very good, general proficiency.”

Assuming that the SRT sample is representative of all Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh, a conclusion can be made that about three-fourths of the population of Bishnupriya speakers are able to use Bangla with ease. Their vocabulary would be adequate, and their speech would be easily understandable. They would be able to understand educated speech quite well, and some would even be able to understand uncommon words and idioms (Radloff 1991:153). The remaining one-quarter of the population would have a basic command in Bangla and should be able to communicate about everyday topics in Bangla.

The measured Bangla bilingualism testing shows, then, that the majority of Bishnupriya speakers in Bangladesh have a good command of Bangla. They can easily understand Bangla in a variety of situations, and they are generally understood by mother tongue Bangla speakers.

These people tend to have passed their SSC exams, and, more often than not, they are also younger. Because most Bishnupriya people in this generation are attending school through class 10 and then passing their SSC exams, it is likely that future generations of Bishnupriya will be increasingly bilingual in Bangla.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The news is quite good for the Bishnupriya: (1) The SRT shows that the community is highly bilingual in Bangla. (2) CIQs reveal that all children attend school, most finishing class 10, and also that there is relatively good access to higher education: in the five communities that were profiled, there was an average of more than twelve people per community who had completed BAs. (3) At the same time, sociolinguistic questionnaires indicate that the mother tongue is also presently healthy since it is still used widely and is also a source of pride for the Bishnupriya. All these signs indicate that the Bishnupriya face neither major language-related disadvantages that may keep them from functioning well in the society at large, nor a crisis in mother tongue vitality. It means that the education system is serving the Bishnupriya adequately, and that the home and community are doing their part in maintaining the mother tongue.

Of course, even a positive situation can be made better. And we applaud the Bishnupriya for recognizing that fact, for not being satisfied or complacent with the status quo; this, too, is part of the good news. They understand that their children are not as fluent in Bangla as majority-community Bangladeshis and thus would benefit from a head start before entering Bangla-medium schools. At the same time, they also grasp the competing sociolinguistic law at work: that without education and literacy in the mother tongue, the future of the Bishnupriya community, for whom language is a key source of identity and unity, is at risk. While there is indeed widespread use of the mother tongue in most domains, there is already a free mixing of Bishnupriya and Bangla in their speech, to the point where some cannot even recognize what is Bishnupriya and what is Bangla. Coupled with the fact that there is relatively little reading and writing in Bishnupriya, there is cause for concern. This sentiment was expressed by many: “We want to know Bishnupriya better, and we want our children to know Bishnupriya better.”

Thus, two clear needs emerged through the survey: 1) better preparation for Bangla-medium school and 2) better mastery of Bishnupriya, both oral and written. **To meet these two needs, we are not recommending two different programs or solutions, but rather one: Bishnupriya-medium literacy classes for children who will eventually bridge into Bangla literacy.** Research in literacy has shown that when children learn to read first in their mother tongue, they will be more successful in attaining literacy in a second language. This is especially true where the mother tongue and the second language share the same script, which is the case for Bishnupriya and Bangla.

We believe that if children can begin to read Bishnupriya in a Bishnupriya-medium class taught by Bishnupriya teachers, then not only will they be able to achieve literacy more easily and more enjoyably, but they will achieve literacy in Bangla more easily as well. Of course, teaching and reading materials need to be developed in Bishnupriya, but these materials can be shared in all Bishnupriya villages since the survey shows that the lexical similarity among them is high. It is also probable that Bishnupriya materials from India could be used to some extent.

There is clearly much to do for the classes to be established and be successful: teacher training, curriculum development, and new literature development, just to name a few. We hope that the Bishnupriya will stay committed to their vision of a better future, and we pledge SIL's partnership in this endeavor.

APPENDICES

- A. International Phonetic Alphabet
- B. Wordlists
- C. Questionnaires
- D. Sociolinguistic questionnaire responses
- E. Bangla Sentence Repetition Test
- F. Bishnupriya community information
- G. Subject biodata
- H. Recorded Text Tests
- I. Recorded Text Test scores

A. INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised 1993)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap				ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

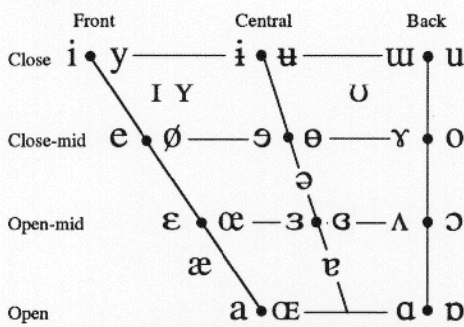
CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
◌ Bilabial	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ as in:
Dental	ɗ Dental/alveolar	pʼ Bilabial
! (Post)alveolar	ɟ Palatal	tʼ Dental/alveolar
‡ Palatoalveolar	ɠ Velar	kʼ Velar
Alveolar lateral	ɣ Uvular	sʼ Alveolar fricative

SUPRASEGMENTALS

		TONES & WORD ACCENTS	
		LEVEL	CONTOUR
ˈ	Primary stress	é or ɛ	ě or ʌ
ˌ	Secondary stress	é	ě
ː	Long	é	ě
ˑ	Half-long	é	ě
ˑ	Extra-short	é	ě
·	Syllable break	é	ě
ˑ	Minor (foot) group	é	ě
	Major (intonation) group	é	ě
ˑ	Linking (absence of a break)	é	ě
		↓ Downstep	↗ Global rise etc.
		↑ Upstep	↘ Global fall

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

OTHER SYMBOLS

ɱ	Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɕ ʑ	Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ʋ	Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɺ	Alveolar lateral flap
ɹ̥	Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ɥ	Simultaneous ʃ and x
ħ	Voiceless epiglottal fricative	Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary.	
ʕ	Voiced epiglottal fricative	k͡p t͡s	
ʡ	Epiglottal plosive		

DIACRITICS

Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ɲ̥

◌	Voiceless	◌̤	Breathy voiced	◌̦	Dental	◌̧	
◌̥	Voiced	◌̜	Creaky voiced	◌̨	Apical	◌̩	
◌ʰ	Aspirated	◌̠	Linguolabial	◌̡	Laminal	◌̢	
◌̹	More rounded	◌̷	Labialized	◌̸	Nasalized	◌̹	
◌̠	Less rounded	◌̣	Palatalized	◌̤	Nasal release	◌̥	
◌̡	Advanced	◌̦	Velarized	◌̧	Lateral release	◌̨	
◌̢	Retracted	◌̣	Pharyngealized	◌̤	No audible release	◌̥	
◌̣	Centralized	◌̦	Velarized or pharyngealized	◌̧			
◌̤	Mid-centralized	◌̥	Raised	◌̦	(ɹ̥ = voiced alveolar fricative)		
◌̥	Syllabic	◌̦	Lowered	◌̧	(β̥ = voiced bilabial approximant)		
◌̦	Non-syllabic	◌̧	Advanced Tongue Root	◌̨			
◌̧	Rhoticity	◌̨	Retracted Tongue Root	◌̩			

B. WORDLISTS

B.1. Procedures for counting lexical similarity

A standard list of 307 vocabulary items was collected from speakers at geographically representative Bishnupriya villages in Bangladesh. This list is presented in appendix B.3. A phonetic chart presenting the transcription conventions used in this report is given in appendix A.

In standard procedure, the 307 words are elicited from a person who has grown up in the target locality. The list then might be checked with a second speaker. Any differences in responses are examined in order to identify (1) incorrect responses due to misunderstanding of the elicitation cue, (2) loanwords offered in response to the language of elicitation when indigenous terms are actually still in use, and (3) terms which are simply at different places along the generic-specific lexical scale. Normally, a single term is recorded for each item of the wordlist. However, more than one term is recorded for a single item when synonymous terms are apparently in general use or when more than one specific term occupies the semantic area of a more generic item on the wordlist.

The wordlists are compared to determine the extent to which the vocabulary of each pair of speech forms is similar. No attempt is made to identify genuine cognates based on a network of sound correspondences. Rather, two items are judged to be phonetically similar if at least half of the segments compared are the same (category 1) and of the remaining segments at least half are rather similar (category 2). For example, if two items of eight segments in length are compared, these words are judged to be similar if at least four segments are virtually the same and at least two more are rather similar. The criteria applied are as follows:

Category 1

- a. Contoid (consonant-like) segments which match exactly
- b. Vocoid (vowel-like) segments which match exactly or differ by only one articulatory feature
- c. Phonetically similar segments (of the sort which frequently are found as allophones) which are seen to correspond in at least three pairs of words

Category 2

All other phonetically similar pairs of segments which are not, however, supported by at least three pairs of words

Category 3

- a. Pairs of segments which are not phonetically similar
- b. A segment which is matched by no segment in the corresponding item

After pairs of items on two wordlists had been determined to be phonetically similar or not, according to the criteria stated above, the percentage of items judged similar was calculated. The procedure was repeated for each pair of dialects. The pair-by-pair-counting procedure was greatly facilitated by the use of *WordSurv*[®], a computer program written by SIL for this purpose.

Occasionally, one or more of the standard 307-lexical items were found to be so problematic that consistent elicitation was impossible or evaluation of similarity became anomalous. In those few cases, the problematic lexical items were excluded from the lexical similarity counts.

The wordlist data and transcribed texts as included in the subsequent appendices are field transcriptions and have not undergone thorough phonological and grammatical analysis.

B.2. Wordlist notes

A few other comments about wordlist procedures are in order for this survey. Where there are no elicitations for a given entry, that means that the word was not used for two main reasons: (1) the word was judged to be confusing or imprecise to several of the informants, or (2) the word consistently elicited foreign borrowed words, usually from English.

Wordlists are given in appendix B.3. Following each of the 307-English glosses are the elicitations from the wordlist collection sites. These elicitations are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet shown in appendix A.

Each elicitation is preceded by a number. For each gloss, all elicitations which have the same preceding number are considered to be phonetically similar and are grouped together. Following each elicitation is a list of one or more letters/number underlined and in brackets. These letters/number represent the wordlist site of that particular elicitation. The codes for these wordlist sites are as follows:

Code:	Wordlist site:
a	Tilakpur
b	Soi Sri
c	Gulerhaor
d	Dhonitila
e	Machimpur
f	Madhapur
0	Bangla

If a wordlist site is not listed for a given word, this is because there was no entry for that particular word at that site.

B.3. Wordlists

1 sky

- 1 akaʃ [0]
- 2 dɪn [abcdef]

2 sun

- 1 ʃuɪdzo [0]
- 2 bɛli [bcde]
- 2 bɛni [af]

3 moon

- 1 tʃɔd [0]
- 2 dʒunak [abcdef]

4 star

- 1 tara [0abcdef]

5 cloud

- 1 mɛg^h [0bcde]
- 1 mɛg^hala [af]

6 rain

- 1 brɪʃti [0]
- 2 boron [abcdef]

7 rainbow

- 1 d^honuk [a]
- 1 p^hɛnd^honu [ce]
- 2 ramd^hanu [b]
- 2 ramɛrd^honu [d]
- 2 ramord^honu [f]
- 3 ramd^hanu [b]
- 3 rɔŋd^honu [0]

8 wind

- 1 bataʃ [0]
- 2 boɥ [abcdef]

9 lightning

- 1 biddut tʃɔmkano [0]
- 2 doɥ dʒilkar [acde]
- 2 dʒilkar [bf]

10 thunder

- 1 mɛg^h gɔɪdʒon [0]
- 2 doɥ dʒilkar [a]
- 3 dɪn gudʒuran [ce]
- 3 dɪn gudʒurani [f]
- 3 dɪn gudʒurel [d]
- 3 gudʒurel [b]

11 sea

- 1 ʃɔmudro [0abcdef]

12 mountain

- 1 pahaɕ [0]
- 2 tɛŋɟara [abcdef]

13 water

- 1 pani [0abcdef]

14 river

- 1 nodi [0]
- 2 gat [adef]
- 3 ʃora [c]
- 3 sora [b]

15 soil/ground

- 1 maɕi [0abcdef]

16 mud

- 1 kada [0]
- 2 or [abcdef]

17 dust

- 1 d^hula [0]
- 1 d^huli [abcdef]

18 stone

- 1 pat^hor [0]
- 2 hil [abcdef]

19 sand

- 1 bali [0af]
- 2 lɛŋŋo [bcde]

20 gold

- 1 huna [abcdef]
- 1 ʃona [0]

21 silver

- 1 rupa [0abcdef]

22 today

- 1 adʒ [0]
- 1 adʒi [abcdef]

23 yesterday

- 1 gotokal/kalke [0]
- 2 gelgakali [abcdf]
- 3 kali [e]

24 tomorrow

- 1 agamikal [0]
- 2 ahebokali [c]
- 2 aherkali [bd]
- 2 ahibokali [af]
- 3 kali [e]

25 week

- 1 hapta [abcdef]
- 1 ʃopta [0]

26 month

- 1 maʃ [0]
- 2 maha [abcdf]
- 2 mahan [e]

27 year

- 1 botʃ^hor [0abcdef]

28 day

- 1 din [0abcdef]

29 morning

- 1 ʃokal [0]
- 2 biʌn [abcdef]

30 noon

- 1 dupur [0]
- 2 belitrik [bcde]
- 2 benitrik [af]

31 evening

- 1 ʃenda [abcdef]
- 1 ʃond^ha [0]

32 night

- 1 rat [0]
- 1 rati [abcdef]

33 paddy rice

- 1 d^han [0abcdef]

34 uncooked rice

- 1 tʃal [0]
- 1 tʃon [af]
- 1 tʃor [bcde]

35 cooked rice1 b^hat [0abcdef]**36 wheat**

1 gom [0abcdef]

37 corn1 b^hutta [0]

1 dzugir bat [de]

1 dzugir pat [c]

1 dzugiri b^hat [ab]2 dukuri b^hat [f]**38 potato**

1 alu [0abcdef]

39 cauliflower

1 fulkopi [c]

1 p^hulkobi [abf]1 p^hulkopi [0de]**40 cabbage**1 bad^hakopi [0cde]

1 bandakobi [abf]

41 eggplant

1 begun [0]

1 be_ilon [af]1 be_inon [bcde]**42 peanut**

1 badam [abcdef]

1 t_ʃinabadam [0]**43 tree**1 gat^h [0bcde]2 lukor_ʃopa [af]2 ruk_ʃopa [bcd]**44 branch**

1 dal [0]

2 deŋ [bce]

3 deŋŋa [af]

4 deŋ [d]

45 leaf

1 pata [0abcdef]

46 thorn1 ka_ta [0abcdef]**47 root**

1 mul [0]

2 mara [bcdef]

2 mari [a]

48 bamboo1 bā_ʃ [0]

2 baha [abcdef]

49 fruit1 p^hol [0abcdef]**50 jackfruit**1 ka_t^hal [0]2 t^he_ipoŋ [abcdef]**51 coconut (ripe)**

1 narikel [0]

1 narikon [af]

1 narikor [bcd]

2 rupi [e]

52 banana

1 kola [0abcdef]

53 mango

- 1 am [0]
 2 hɛno [bc]
 2 hɛnu [æf]
 2 hẽnu [d]

54 flower

- 1 p^hul [0abcdef]

55 seed

- 1 bidz [0abcdef]

56 sugarcane

- 1 ak^h [0]
 2 moʊ [abcdef]

57 betelnut

- 1 ʃupari [0]
 2 guə [abcdef]

58 lime for betelnut

- 1 ʃunu [abcdef]
 1 tʃun [0]

59 liquor

- 1 mɔd [0abcdef]

60 milk

- 1 dud^h [0]
 2 ʃɛŋkom [bcde]
 2 ʃɛŋkum [af]

61 oil

- 1 tɛl [0]
 2 t^hoʊ [abcdef]

62 meat

- 1 maŋʃo [0abcdef]

63 salt

- 1 lobon / nun [0]
 1 nun [abcdef]

64 onion

- 1 peədʒ [0abcdef]

65 garlic

- 1 rɔʃun [0abcdef]

66 red pepper

- 1 lal morɪʃ [0]
 2 morokʃi [abcdef]

67 elephant

- 1 ati [acdef]
 1 hati [0b]

68 tiger

- 1 bag^h [0abcdef]

69 bear

- 1 b^haluk [0abcdef]

70 deer

- 1 horɪn [0bde]
 1 oriŋ [acf]

71 monkey

- 1 bador [a]
 1 bandor [f]
 1 banor [0bcde]

72 rabbit

- 1 k^hɔrgoʃ [0abcdef]

73 snake

- 1 ʃap [0]
- 2 hɔrɔp [de]
- 2 hɔrɔp [abcf]

74 crocodile

- 1 kumir [0abcdef]

75 house lizard

- 1 tɛktɛkka [af]
- 1 tɪktɪkki [0bce]
- 2 manaporom [de]

76 turtle

- 1 kottʃ^hɔp [0]
- 2 t^hɛŋku [af]
- 3 durbi [bcde]

77 frog

- 1 bæŋ [0af]
- 2 kɛrɔŋ [bcde]

78 dog

- 1 kukur [0abcdef]

79 cat

- 1 biɾal [0]
- 2 mehur [abcdef]

80 cow

- 1 goru [0]
- 1 guru [abcdef]

81 buffalo

- 1 mohiʃ [0bcde]
- 2 moʃ [af]

82 horn (of buffalo)

- 1 ʃiŋ [0]
- 2 hiŋ [abcdef]

83 tail

- 1 lɛdʒ [0bcde]
- 2 lɛndʒa [af]

84 goat

- 1 tʃ^hagol [0bc]
- 2 hamɛŋ [af]
- 3 ʃagi [de]

85 pig

- 1 ʃukor [0]
- 2 huor [abcdef]

86 rat

- 1 idur [0b]
- 1 udur [acdef]

87 chicken (adult female)

- 1 muruk [abcf]
- 1 murgi (muruk) [0e]
- 2 kuraki [cd]

88 egg

- 1 dʒim [0abcdef]

89 fish

- 1 matʃ^h [0abcdef]

90 duck

- 1 haʃ [0be]
- 2 aʃ [cd]
- 2 aʃkoraki [af]

--koraki can mean chicken

91 bird

- 1 pak^hi [0]
- 2 pahija [bcdef]
- 2 pak^hija [a]

92 insect

- 1 pək [abdef]
- 1 poka [0]
- 2 pəkdzək [c]

93 cockroach

- 1 tɛlapoka [0]
- 2 tɛntʃoroni [acdef]
- 2 tɛrtʃora [b]

94 bee

- 1 moymatʃ^hi [0]
- 2 bɛmul [b]
- 2 bɛmun [cd]
- 2 bɛmur [e]
- 3 bɛŋŋon [af]

95 fly

- 1 matʃ^hi [0abcdef]

96 spider

- 1 makorʃa [0]
- 2 makor [abcdef]

97 ant

- 1 pɛpura [abcdef]
- 1 pipɕa [0]

98 mosquito

- 1 moʃa [0]
- 1 moha [abcdef]

99 head

- 1 mat^ha [0]
- 2 mur [abcdef]

100 face

- 1 muk^h [0]
- 2 ʃakta [af]
- 3 mɛit^hoŋ [bcde]

101 neck

- 1 gola [0]
- 2 nar [af]
- 3 gar [bcde]

102 hair

- 1 tʃul [0bcde]
- 1 tʃun [af]

103 eye

- 1 tʃok [0]
- 2 ahi [bcdef]
- 2 ak^hi [a]

104 nose

- 1 nak [0abcdef]

105 ear

- 1 kan [0abcdef]

106 cheek

- 1 gal [0abcdef]

107 chin

- 1 tʃibuk [0]
- 2 k^hataŋ [ac]
- 3 tʃui [bcdef]

108 mouth

- 1 muk [0]
- 2 t^hota [abcdef]

109 tongue

- 1 dʒɪb [0]
2 dʒu [abcdef]

110 tooth

- 1 dāt [0abcdef]

111 elbow

- 1 konui [0]
2 kohoni [abcdef]

112 hand

- 1 hat [0]
2 at [abcdef]

113 palm

- 1 hater tola [0]
2 atoltala [a]
2 atortalu [bf]
2 atortara [cde]

114 finger

- 1 aɲɟur [0]
1 aɲɟuli [bcde]
2 amuni [af]

115 fingernail

- 1 nok [0bcdef]
1 nok [a]

116 knee

- 1 at^hu [abcdef]
1 haɟu [0]

117 foot

- 1 pɔd [0]
2 t^hɛɲɔr pata [a]
3 dʒaɲ [bcde]
4 dʒaɲɔr pata [f]

118 bone

- 1 haɟ [0]
2 ar [abcdf]
3 aɟɟi [e]

119 fat

- 1 tʃɔrbi [0abdef]
2 mahu [c]

120 skin

- 1 tʃamra [0ef]
2 tʃam [acd]
3 ʃɔr [d]
3 tʃɔr [bc]

121 blood

- 1 rɔkto [0]
2 rɔkot [abcdef]

122 sweat

- 1 g^ham [0abcdef]

123 belly

- 1 pɛɟ [0abcdef]

124 heart (organ)

- 1 ridoi̯ [0]
2 mihur [ac]
3 t^hoi̯ [bcdef]

125 back

- 1 pit^h [0]
1 pit^hi [bcdef]

126 body

- 1 ga [0]
2 astagari [a]
2 gari [bcdef]

--asta means "whole"

127 person

- 1 lok [0]
2 manu [abcdef]

128 man

- 1 puruʃ [0]
2 muni [abcdef]

129 woman

- 1 mohila [0]
2 dzɛla [abcf]
2 dzɛlɛ [ce]

130 father

- 1 baba [0abcdef]

131 mother

- 1 ma [0]
2 ima [abcdef]

132 husband

- 1 ʃami [0]
2 hejok [abcdef]

133 wife

- 1 stri [0]
2 minok [af]
2 moɪlok [bcde]

134 son

- 1 tʃ^hɛlɛ [0]
2 pitok [af]
2 putok [de]

135 daughter

- 1 mɛjɛ [0]
2 dzilok [adef]
3 dzɛla [b]
3 dzɛlasoa/ninɔrsoa [c]

136 elder brother

- 4 dada [d]
1 bɔɾo b^haɪ [0]
2 daŋɔrdada [de]
2 dzɛt^habɛjok [abcdef]

137 elder sister

- 1 bɔɾo bon [0]
2 daŋɔr bonok [cde]
2 dzɛt^hi bonok [adf]
3 daŋɔr itʃɛ [bc]

138 younger brother

- 1 tʃ^hto b^haɪ [0]
2 hurkaŋbejok [abdef]
2 k^hulabɛjok [bcd]

139 younger sister

- 1 tʃ^hoto bon [0]
2 hurkaŋbonok [abdef]
2 k^hulibonok [cd]

140 friend

- 1 bond^hu [0]
2 itao [bcdef]

141 name

- 1 nam [0]
1 naŋ [abcdef]

142 village

- 1 gram [0]
2 gaŋ [abcdef]

143 house

- 1 baɾi / g^hor [0]
1 gor [abcdef]

144 door

- 1 dɔrdʒa [0e]
2 duar [abcdef]

145 window

- 1 dʒanala [0]
2 k^hɛlki [b]
2 k^hɪlgi [d]
2 k^hɪlki [ce]
2 k^hɪrki [af]

146 roof

- 1 ʃad [de]
1 tʃ^had [0af]
2 tʃ^hal [bc]

147 wall of house

- 1 dɛal [0bcdef]
2 wal [a]

148 pillow

- 1 balɪʃ [0]
2 mol [cde]
2 mon [af]
2 mor [b]

149 blanket

- 1 kɔmbol [0abcdef]

150 ring (on finger)

- 1 aŋt^hi [d]
1 aŋti [0abcef]

151 clothing

- 1 poʃak [0]
2 p^hidʒɛt [abcdef]

152 cloth

- 1 kapoɔ [0]
2 futi [b]
2 p^huti [acdef]

153 medicine

- 1 oʃud [0]
2 hɔdʒok [abcdef]

154 paper

- 1 kagodʒ [0a]
2 tʃɛ [bcdef]

155 needle

- 1 ʃutʃ [0]
2 hutʃi [abcdef]

156 thread

- 1 suta [0]
2 luri [cde]
2 nuri [abf]

157 broom

- 1 dʒ^haru [0]
2 horoni [abcdef]

158 spoon (for eating)

- 1 tʃamotʃ [0abcdef]

159 knife (to cut meat)

- 1 tʃ^huri [0]
2 tʃaku [abcdef]

160 hammer

- 1 atura [abcdef]
1 haturi [0]

161 axe

- 1 kuṭ^har [0]
2 banuk [abcdef]

162 bow

- 1 denuk [b]
1 d^honuk [0adef]
1 dunuk [c]

163 arrow

- 1 tir [0b]
2 kar [acdef]

164 spear

- 1 boɾʃa [0]
2 dʒat^ha [af]
2 dʒat^hi [bcde]

165 fire

- 1 agun [0]
2 dʒi [abcdef]

166 ashes

- 1 ʃali [a]
1 sali [f]
1 tʃ^hai [0]
1 tʃ^hali [bcde]

167 smoke

- 1 d^hoa [0]
1 d^huma [abcdef]

168 candle

- 1 mombati [0abcdef]

169 boat

- 1 noŭka [0abcdef]

170 road

- 1 rasta [0]
2 ʃorok [abcdef]

171 path

- 1 pot [0abcdef]

172 to go

- 1 dʒaga [b]
1 dʒana [acdef]
1 dʒawa [0]

173 to come

- 1 aʃa [0]
2 ahani [acdef]
2 ahitara [b]
--root is aha

174 to stand

- 1 darano [0]
2 uba [b]
2 ubani [def]
2 ubaona [a]
2 ubaoni [c]

175 to sit

- 1 bo [b]
1 bohani [acdef]
1 boʃa [0]
--root is the same

176 to lie down

- 1 ʃoa [0]
2 helandia [a]
3 por [b]
4 katira [c]

177 to walk

- 1 aʃani [abcdef]
1 hāʃa [0]

178 to fly

- 1 oḡa [0]
- 1 urani [e]
- 2 p^hordani [bd]
- 2 p^hurdani [cf]
- 2 p^hutdani [a]

179 to enter

- 1 d^hoka [0]
- 2 homani [abcdef]

180 to kick

- 1 t^homdani [a]
- 1 t^hoḡdani [cd]
- 2 uṡṡani [c]
- 3 laṡ^hani [b]
- 4 laṡ^hi mara [0]
- 5 dzaḡdal [e]
- 5 dzaḡdal [d]

181 to swim

- 1 ṡatar kaṡa [0]
- 2 haturani [abcdef]

182 to see

- 1 dæ^ha [0]
- 1 dehani [cdef]
- 1 dæ^hani [a]
- 2 ṡṡana [b]

183 to hear

- 1 hunani [abcdef]
- 1 ṡona [0]

184 to wait

- 1 opekk^ha koḡa [0]
- 2 baṡani [abcdef]

185 to cry

- 1 kadani [abcdef]
- 1 kāda [0]

186 to cook

- 1 ranna koḡa [0]
- 2 hidṡani [af]
- 3 radani [cde]
- 3 radiri [be]

187 to boil (water)

- 3 ṡokorani [a]
- 4 topta [b]
- 1 ṡidd^ho koḡa [0]
- 2 uhana [cdef]

188 to eat

- 1 k^hana [abcdef]
- 1 k^hawa [0]

189 to drink

- 1 pani k^hawa [0]
- 2 pani pena [b]
- 2 pani pina [acdef]

190 to sing

- 1 gaḡ gawa [0]
 - 2 εla [b]
 - 2 εla dena [acdef]
- εla means song

191 to bite

- 1 kamarani [abcdef]
- 1 kamṡano [0]

192 to laugh

- 1 haṡa [0]
- 2 ahani [abcdef]

193 to speak

- 1 bola [0]
- 2 matani [abcdef]
- 3 totarani [e]

194 to tell**195 to know**

- 1 dzana [0]
- 2 harpani [abcdef]

196 to forget

- 1 b^hule dzawa [0]
- 2 pahurani [abcdef]

197 to sleep

- 1 g^humani [af]
- 1 g^humano [0]
- 2 g^humdžani [d]
- 2 gumdžourⁱ [e]
- 2 gundžani [bc]

198 to dream

- 1 šopno dæ^hka [0]
- 2 hopon dehani [de]
- 2 hopon dæ^hani [ab]
- 2 hopon dehani [c]

199 to do/make

- 1 kora [0]

200 to work

- 1 kadž kora [0]
- 2 kam korani [abcdef]

201 to play

- 1 k^hela [0]
- 1 k^helani [acdef]
- 1 k^heltara [b]

202 to dance

- 1 našani [cdef]
- 1 nasani [b]
- 1 naša [0]
- 1 našani [a]

203 to throw

- 1 tš^hora [0]
- 2 udani [a]
- 3 uradena [bcde]
- 4 itadena [e]
- 5 bidani [f]

204 to lift

- 1 tola [0]
- 1 tulani [acdef]
- 2 tur [b]

205 to push

- 1 d^hakka dɛwa [0]
- 2 t^helani [abcdef]

206 to pull

- 1 tana [0]
- 2 ašulani [cd]
- 2 asulani [e]
- 2 išulani [af]
- 3 asur [b]

207 to tie

- 1 bad^hani [abcdef]
- 1 bād^ha [0]

208 to wipe

- 1 moʃ^ha [0]
 1 moʃ^hani [af]
 1 puʃ^hani [bcd]
 2 pusani [e]
 2 puʃ^hani [bcd]

209 to weave (on loom)

- 1 tate bona [0]
 1 tate bulani [a]
 2 p^huti bunani [bcde]
 3 beŋge bulani [f]

210 to sew

- 1 ʃelaj kora [0]
 2 hijani [bce]
 2 hirani [af]
 3 p^huti hina [d]

211 to wash (face/hand)

- 1 d^hoa [0]
 1 d^hoga [b]
 1 d^hona [acdef]

212 to take bath

- 1 gosol kora [0]
 2 hinani [abcdef]

213 to cut something

- 1 kapani [abcdef]
 1 kaʃa [0]

214 to burn

- 1 poʃano [0]
 1 puʃani [abcdef]

215 to buy

- 1 kena [0]
 2 loga [b]
 2 lona [acdef]

216 to sell

- 1 bikri kora [0]
 2 bedʒga [b]
 2 besani [e]
 2 beʃani [af]
 2 beʃ^hani [cd]

217 to steal

- 1 ʃor korani [abcdef]
 1 ʃuri kora [0]

218 to lie, fib**219 to take**

- 1 nea [0]
 1 nega [b]
 1 nena [acdef]

220 to give

- 1 dea [0]
 1 dega [b]
 1 dena [acdef]

221 to kill**222 to die****223 to love**

- 1 b^halobaʃa [0]
 2 bahanapaori [af]
 3 bahapani [bcde]
 3 banapaori [e]

224 to hate

- 1 g^hrina kora [0]
- 2 alipani [bcde]
- 2 alipaori [af]

225 one

- 1 ek [0abcdef]

226 two

- 1 duḡ [0abcdef]

227 three

- 1 tṛn [0abcdef]

228 four

- 1 tṣar [0abcdef]

229 five

- 1 patṣ [0abcdef]

230 six

- 1 tṣ^hoi [0abcdef]

231 seven

- 1 hat [abcdef]
- 1 ṣat [0]

232 eight

- 1 at [0abcdef]

233 nine

- 1 noi [0abcdef]

234 ten

- 1 doṣ [0abcdef]

235 eleven

- 1 əgaro [0abcdef]

236 twelve

- 1 baṛo [0abcdef]

237 twenty

- 1 biṣ [0abcdef]

238 hundred

- 1 ṣo [0abcdef]

239 thousand

- 1 hadzar [0abcdef]

240 few

- 1 kojek [0]
- 2 kotogo [abcdef]

241 some

- 1 kiṭṣ^hu [0]
- 2 k^hani [abdef]
- 2 k^hanipara/gulipara [c]

242 many

- 1 onek [0]
- 2 abokṣa [af]
- 3 jiṃpara [e]
- 3 niṃpara [bcde]

243 all

- 1 ṣob [0]
- 2 habbi [abcdef]

244 big

- 1 boṛo [0]
- 2 daṃṃor [abcdef]

245 small

- 1 tṣ^hoto [0]
- 2 hurkaṅ [abcdef]

246 long

- 1 lomba [0]
- 2 digor [abcdef]

247 short (length)

- 1 k^haʔo [0]
- 2 hurkaŋ [a]
- 3 baʔti [bcdef]

248 heavy

- 1 b^hari [0]
- 2 boʔi [f]
- 2 bori [bcde]
- 2 budi [a]

249 light (not heavy)

- 1 halka [0]
- 2 patol [abcdef]

250 fat

- 1 moʔa [0e]
- 2 p^hulani [af]
- 3 gaʔa [cd]

251 thin

- 1 ʔikon [0e]
- 2 hukəŋ [b]
- 2 hukana [af]
- 3 solose [cde]

252 wide, broad

- 3 daŋŋor [ade]
- 4 digor [b]
- 1 ʔoʔa [0]
- 2 ʔepta [cf]

253 narrow

- 3 hukkaŋ [b]
- 3 hurkaŋ [c]
- 1 ʔoru [0]
- 2 ʔipa [def]

254 deep

- 1 gob^hir [0]
- 2 limu [af]
- 3 lu [bcde]

255 shallow

- 1 nɪmnaɪ [a]
- 2 ɔgob^hir [0]
- 3 ʔɛka [b]
- 4 ʔ^hasɛ [de]

256 full (cup)

- 1 purno [0]
- 2 budzani [af]
- 2 budzese [bcde]

257 empty (cup)

- 1 k^hali [0]
- 2 hudala [bcdef]

258 hungry**259 thirsty****260 sweet**

- 1 miʔti [0]
- 2 t^hum [abcdef]

261 sour

- 1 ʔok [0]
- 2 ʔoha [bcde]
- 2 ʔok^ha [af]

262 bitter

1 tita [0abcdef]

263 spicy, hot1 dzalluitʃ^hε [a]

1 dzalona [f]

1 dzalose [bcde]

1 dʒ^hal [0]

--root is the same

264 ripe

1 paka [0]

2 modza [cf]

2 modzese [bde]

2 modzītʃ^hε [a]**265 rotten (fruit)**

1 poʃa [f]

1 potʃa [0]

1 potʃese [bcde]

1 potʃītʃ^hε [a]**266 fast**

1 taʃataʃi [0]

2 tʃalakkore [abcdef]

267 slow1 d^hire d^hire [o]

2 tapko tapko [cde]

2 tapkore [b]

2 tappo [af]

3 lai̇ lai̇ [e]

268 same

1 aki [c]

1 eki [0e]

2 ak^han [af]**269 different**1 b^hinno [0]2 tonɲalitʃ^hε [a]3 k^hei̇ k^hei̇ [bcdef]**270 dry**

1 ʃukna [0]

2 hukana [cdef]

2 hukani [abf]

271 wet1 b^hidza [0]

2 tɪɲa [cdef]

2 tɪɲese [b]

2 tɪɲītʃ^hε [a]**272 hot (weather)**

1 ɣorom [0e]

2 ʃokoral [c]

2 ʃokorani [af]

2 sokorel [bd]

273 cold (weather)1 t^handə [0]

2 dzar [abcdef]

3 iɲose [ce]

274 good1 b^halo [0]

2 hoba [abcf]

2 hoba [de]

275 bad1 k^harap [0]

2 ʃakti [bcdef]

276 new

- 1 notun [0]
2 nuā [abcdef]

277 old

- 1 puran [b]
1 purana [def]
1 purano [0c]
2 punna [a]

278 broken

- 1 b^han̄ṅa [0]
2 bagani [af]
2 bagese [bcde]

279 above

- 1 upore [0]
2 godʒe [bcdef]
2 gosk^hat [a]

280 below

- 1 niṭʃe [0]
2 tole [bcdef]

281 far

- 1 dure [0]
1 durihan [a]
1 dureṭ [bcdef]

282 near

- 1 kaṭʃ^he [0]
2 kadahat [a]
2 kadat [bcde]

283 right

- 1 ḍan [0]
2 bats [abcdef]

284 left

- 1 bam [0]
2 ban̄ge [bcde]
2 biṅge [af]

285 black

- 1 kala [abcdef]
1 kalo [0]

286 white

- 1 ʃada [0]
2 dola [abcdef]

287 red

- 1 lal [0]
2 ran̄ṅa [abcdef]

288 green

- 1 ʃobudʒ [0]
2 tennuā [abcdef]
3 ʃan̄ren [e]

289 yellow

- 1 holud [0]
2 andi [bcdef]
2 ondi [af]
3 ondi [a]
3 ordi [de]

290 when (near future)

- 1 kək^hon [0]
2 kumbaga [ce]
2 kumbaka [d]
2 kumpaga [af]
2 kumpaka [b]

291 where

- 1 kot^haṭ [0]
2 koran̄ [abcdf]
3 kumpeṭ [bcde]

292 who

- 1 ke [0]
- 2 kunjo [abcdef]

293 what

- 1 ki [0]
- 1 kigo [acf]
- 1 kita [bcde]

294 how many

- 1 koṭa [0]
- 2 koḡgo [abcdef]

295 this thing

- 1 eṭa [0]
- 2 aggo [bcd]
- 2 aḡgo [a]
- 2 ego [ef]

296 that thing

- 1 oṭa [0]
- 2 ogorgo [a]
- 3 ogo [cdf]
- 3 ugo [e]

297 these things

- 1 egulo [0]
- 3 egi [e]
- 4 eṭahabbi [f]

298 those things

- 1 ogulo [0]
- 2 oṭa [a]
- 2 ouṭa [c]
- 2 uṭa [bde]
- 3 ugi [e]
- 4 oṭahabbi [f]

299 1s

- 1 ami [0]
- 2 mi [abcdef]

300 2s (familiar)

- 1 tumi [0]
- 2 ti [abcdef]

301 2s (honorific)**302 3s (generic/male)**

- 1 ṣe [0]
- 2 ogo [acf]
- 2 ugo [bde]

303 3s (female)**304 1p**

- 1 amra [0]
- 2 ami [e]
- 2 amihabbi [abcdef]

--root is the same (habbi means all)

305 2p (familiar)

- 1 tomra [0]
- 2 tumi [e]
- 2 tumihabbi [abcdef]

306 2p (honorific)**307 3p**

- 1 tara [0]
- 2 tanu [de]
- 2 tanuhabbi [bc]
- 3 taṅgi [af]

C. QUESTIONNAIRES

C.1. Sociolinguistic questionnaire

1a. In which villages do the people speak very differently from you, so that you have trouble understanding them?

১ক. কোন কোন গ্রামের লোকেরা আপনার ভাষা থেকে সম্পূর্ণ ভিন্নতর ভাষায় কথা বলে যেটা বুঝতে আপনার কষ্ট হয়?

1b. When you go to these villages, what language do you use?

১খ. এই সকল গ্রামগুলোতে গিয়ে আপনি কোন ভাষা ব্যবহার করেন?

2a. Do many children in your village know another language before starting school?

২ক. স্কুলে যাবার আগেই কি আপনার গ্রামের অনেক শিশুরা মাতৃভাষা ছাড়া অন্য ভাষা Rv#b?

2b. If yes, which one(s)?

২খ. যদি হ্যাঁ, তাহলে কোন ভাষাটি?

3. Do young people (age 10) in your village speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

৩. আপনার গ্রামের দশ বছরের বয়সী শিশুরা কি যেমন করে বলা উচিত তেমন করে আপনাদের মাতৃভাষা সঠিকভাবে বলতে পারে?

4. Do children in your village speak another language better than your language?

৪. আপনার গ্রামে শিশুরা কি আপনার ভাষার চাইতেও অন্য কোন ভাষা বেশী ভাল করে বলতে পারে?

5. When the children in this village grow up and have children of their own, what language do you think those children will speak?

৫. এই গ্রামের শিশুরা বড় হয়ে যখন পিতা-মাতা হবে, আপনি কি মনে করেন তাদের ছেলে-মেয়েরা কোন ভাষায় কথা বলবে?

6. In each of the following places and activities, what language do you use most of the time?

৬. নিম্নে বর্ণিত স্থান এবং কার্যক্রমে, বেশীরভাগ সময়ে আপনারা কোন ভাষাটি ব্যবহার করেন?

6a. At home

৬ক. বাড়ীতে

6b. At a religious festival

৬খ. ধর্মীয় অনুষ্ঠানে

6c. With neighbors

৬গ. আপনার প্রতিবেশীর সাথে

7a. Other than your MT, what languages do you speak?

৭ক. আপনার মাতৃভাষা ছাড়া কোন কোন ভাষায় আপনি কথা বলেন?

7b. At what age did you begin to learn each?

৭খ. কোন বয়সে আপনি এই ভাষাগুলো শিখেছেন?

8. What language do you speak best?

৮. কোন ভাষাটি আপনি সবচেয়ে ভালো বলতে পারেন?

9. What language do you speak second best?

৯. কোন ভাষাটি আপনি দ্বিতীয় ভালো বলতে পারেন?

10. Can you always say what you want to say in your second-best language?

১০. আপনি দ্বিতীয় যে ভাষাটি ভালো বলতে পারেন সেই ভাষাতে কি সবসময় যা বলতে চান তাই বলতে পারেন?

11. What language should a mother in your language group speak to her children?

১১. আপনার ভাষাভাষী মায়াদের তাদের শিশুদের সাথে কোন ভাষায় কথা বলা উচিত বলে আপনি মনে করেন?

12. Do you think it's okay if your children speak other languages better than your MT?

১২. আপনার কাছে কি এটা ভাল লাগবে যদি আপনার শিশুরা আপনার মাতৃভাষা ছাড়া অন্য ভাষা আরও ভাল ভাবে বলতে পারে?

13. What is the most useful language to know in your village?

১৩. আপনার গ্রামে কোন ভাষাটি সবচেয়ে বেশী কাজে লাগে?

14. What language should be used as the medium of education in primary school?

১৪. শিক্ষার মাধ্যম হিসেবে প্রাথমিক স্কুলে কোন ভাষাটি ব্যবহার করা উচিত?

15. Can you read and write letters and messages in your MT?

১৫. আপনি কি আপনার মাতৃভাষায় চিঠি এবং বার্তাসমূহ পড়তে ও লিখতে পারেন?

16. Can you read and write letters and messages in Bangla?

১৬. আপনি কি বাংলাভাষায় চিঠি এবং বার্তাসমূহ পড়তে ও লিখতে পারেন?

17a. If your community leaders set up a class to teach young children how to read and write in your MT, would you send your children?

১৭ক. যদি আপনার গ্রামের নেতৃস্থানীয় ব্যক্তিরা আপনার মাতৃভাষা শিক্ষার জন্য স্কুল প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন, আপনি কি আপনার শিশুদের সেখানে পাঠাবেন?

17b. Why or why not?

১৭খ. কেন বা কেন না?

17c. Would you pay a little for such classes?

১৭গ. এই রকম ক্লাসের জন্য আপনি কি কিছু খরচ করবেন?

18a. If your community leaders set up a class to teach adults how to read and write in your MT, would you go?

১৮ক. যদি আপনার গ্রামের নেতৃস্থানীয় ব্যক্তির আপনার মাতৃভাষা শিক্ষার জন্য স্কুল প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন, আপনি কি যাবেন?

18b. Why or why not?

১৮খ. কেন বা কেন না?

18c. Would you pay a little for such classes?

১৮গ. এই রকম ক্লাসের জন্য আপনি কি কিছু খরচ করবেন?

C.2. Post-HTT questionnaire

1. Where do you think the person who told this story is from?

2. Is the speech good? If not, what is not good about it?

3. Is this the way people in your village speak?

4. Did you hear any mixing with another language? If yes, which one(s)?

C.3. Subject biodata questionnaire

Number of interview:

সাক্ষাৎকারের ক্রমিক নং:

Date of interview:

সাক্ষাৎকারের তারিখ:

Location of interview:

সাক্ষাৎকারের স্থান:

1. What is your name?

১. আপনার নাম কি?

2. How old are you?

২. আপনার বয়স কত?

3. Sex of interviewee:

৩. উত্তরদাতার লিঙ্গ পরিচয়

4. Up to what standard have you studied?

৪. আপনি কোন শ্রেণী পর্যন্ত পড়ালেখা করেছেন?

5. What is the name of the village you are now living in?

৫. আপনি যে গ্রামে বাস করেন তার নাম কি?

6. What do you call your mother language?

৬. আপনার মাতৃভাষার নাম কি?

7a. What is your mother's mother tongue?

৭ক. আপনার মাতার মাতৃভাষা কি?

7b. What is your father's mother tongue?

৭খ. আপনার পিতার মাতৃভাষা কি?

8. Where else have you lived and for how long?

৮. এর আগে আপনি অন্য কোথায় বসবাস করেছেন? কতদিনের জন্য?

C.4. Community Information Questionnaire

Name of village:

গ্রামের নাম:

Transportation to village:

যাতায়তের মাধ্যম:

1. What is the location of your village by thana and district?

১. আপনার গ্রামটি কোন থানায় ও কোন জেলায় অবস্থিত?

2. How many people and families live in this village?

২. এই গ্রামটির জনসংখ্যা কত লোক ও কতটি পরিবার বসবাস করে?

3. What religions are followed here?

৩. এখানের বেশীর ভাগ লোক কি ধর্ম পালন করে?

4. Which languages are spoken as mother tongues in your village?

৪. মাতৃভাষা হিসেবে কোন ভাষাটি আপনার গ্রামের লোকজন ব্যবহার করে?

5. What jobs do people in your village do?

৫. আপনার গ্রামের লোকজন সাধারণত কোন ধরনের কাজ করে?

6. Where is the nearest post office?

৬. সবচেয়ে কাছের পোস্ট অফিসটি কোথায় অবস্থিত?

7a. Can you make TNT calls from your village?

৭ক. আপনার গ্রাম থেকে কি আপনি টিএনটি ফোন করতে পারেন?

7b. Can you make mobile calls from your village?

৭খ. আপনার গ্রাম থেকে কি আপনি মোবাইল ফোন করতে পারেন?

7c. If not, where is the nearest place you can make phone calls?

৭গ. যদি না পারেন, সবচেয়ে কাছের কোন জায়গা থেকে আপনি ফোন করতে পারেন?

8a. Where is the nearest hospital?

৮ক. সবচেয়ে কাছের হাসপাতালটি কোথায়?

8b. Where is the nearest clinic?

৮ক. সবচেয়ে কাছের ক্লিনিকটি (বা চিকিৎসা কেন্দ্র) কোথায়?

9a. Are there government schools in your village?

৯ক. আপনার গ্রামে কি সরকারী স্কুল আছে?

9b. If yes, what kinds?

৯খ. যদি থাকে সেটি কি ধরনের?

10. Are there any other types of schools or non-formal educational institutions in your village?

১০. গ্রামে কি অন্য কোন ধরনের স্কুল অথবা উপানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান আছে?

11. How many children in your village go to school? (all, most, half, few)

১১. আপনার গ্রামে কত সংখ্যক শিশুরা স্কুলে যায়? (সবাই, বেশীরভাগ, অর্ধেকসংখ্যক, অল্পসংখ্যক)

12. How many girls in your village go to school? (all, most, half, few)

১২. আপনার গ্রামে কত সংখ্যক মেয়েরা স্কুলে যায়? (সবাই, বেশীরভাগ, অর্ধেকসংখ্যক, অল্পসংখ্যক)

13. At which standard do most children in your village stop going to school?

১৩. আপনার গ্রামে কোন শ্রেণী পর্যন্ত পড়ালেখা শেষে বেশীরভাগ শিশুরা স্কুলে যাওয়া বন্ধ করে দেয়?

14. In your village, how many students who begin school end up finishing 5th standard? (all, most, half, few)

১৪. আপনার গ্রামে যারা স্কুল শুরু করে তাদের মধ্যে কতজন পঞ্চম শ্রেণী শেষ করে? (সবাই, বেশীরভাগ, অর্ধেকসংখ্যক, অল্পসংখ্যক)

15. In your village, how many students who begin school end up finishing 10th standard? (all, most, half, few)

১৫. আপনার গ্রামে যারা স্কুল শুরু করে তাদের মধ্যে কতজন দশম শ্রেণী শেষ করে? (সবাই, বেশীরভাগ, অর্ধেকসংখ্যক, অল্পসংখ্যক)

16. How many people in your village have completed BA or higher?

১৬. আপনার গ্রামের কত সংখ্যক মানুষ বি.এ. অথবা তার চেয়ে উচ্চতর ডিগ্রী লাভ করেছে?

17. Do you have electricity in your village?

১৭. আপনার গ্রামে কি বিদ্যুৎ আছে?

18. What is your water source?

১৮. আপনার গ্রামে পানির উৎস কি?

19a. Do you listen to radio programs?

১৯ক. আপনি কি রেডিও শোনেন?

19b. In what language(s)?

১৯খ. কোন কোন ভাষায়?

20a. Do you watch TV programs?

২০ক. আপন কি টিভি দেখেন?

20b. In what language(s)?

২০খ. কোন কোন ভাষায়?

D. SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

The following tables display subjects' responses to the sociolinguistic questionnaire. The questionnaire itself is in appendix C.1, and the question numbers correspond with the numbers given at the top of each table in this appendix. Subject biodata is given in appendix G.3, and the subject numbers given in the biodata correspond to those in this appendix.

The following abbreviations are used in these tables:

Languages:

B = Bangla

B.M. = Bishnupriya Manipuri

E = English

H = Hindi

M = Meitei

Other:

DK = does not know

Lg = language

MT = mother tongue

NA = not applicable

ND = no data

D.1. Language use responses and language attitudes towards language use and other languages responses

Subj. No.	6a. Lg. use at home	6b. Lg. use at religious festival	6c. Lg. use with neighbors	11. Mom with kids lg.	12. Other lg. better OK?	13. Most useful village lg.	14. Primary school medium
T1	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
T2	B.M.	mostly B; little B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B, E
T3	B.M.	B	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B
T4	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B
T5	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B
T6	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B.M.
T7	B.M.	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
T8	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
T9	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
T10	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
S1	B.M.	B, B.M, Sanskrit	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B, E
S2	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B
S3	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
S4	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B
S5	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B
S6	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B
S7	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
S8	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
S9	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B
S10	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B
S11	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
S12	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
S13	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G1	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G2	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B
G3	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B.M. & B
G4	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G5	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	ND
G6	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B	B.M. & B
G7	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G8	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G9	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G10	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
G11	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B

Subj. No.	6a. Lg. use at home	6b. Lg. use at religious festival	6c. Lg. use with neighbors	11. Mom with kids lg.	12. Other lg. better OK?	13. Most useful village lg.	14. Primary school medium
M1	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B
M2	B.M.	B	B.M.	B.M. & B	yes	B.M.	B.M. & B
M3	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M. & B	no	B.M.	B
M4	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M. & B	no	B.M.	B
M5	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
M6	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M. & B	B & B.M.
M7	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
M8	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B.M.
M9	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
M11	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D1	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D2	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D3	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D4	M	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D5	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M. & B
D6	B.M.	B.M. & B	B.M. & B	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B.M.
D7	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D8	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D9	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	yes	B.M.	B.M.
D10	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D11	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B
D12	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D13	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.
D14	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	no	B.M.	B.M.

D.2. Language attitudes towards literacy classes responses

Subj. No.	17a. Kids to MT class?	17b. Why	17c. Pay?	18a. Go to MT class?	18b. Why	18c. Pay?
T1	yes	To express his feelings	yes	yes	To be with everyone & to learn his MT well	yes
T2	yes	To further their MT education	yes	yes	For the development of the Manipuri people	yes
T3	yes	To make her MT more prevelant	if able	yes	To learn her MT	if able
T4	yes	To learn their MT	yes	no	He's too old.	NA

Subj. No.	17a. Kids to MT class?	17b. Why	17c. Pay?	18a. Go to MT class?	18b. Why	18c. Pay?
T5	yes	They need to learn their own lg.	yes	no	She already knows B.M.	NA
T6	yes	To learn their MT	if able	no	It's not important.	NA
T7	yes	To be able to speak MT better	yes	no	It's not important.	NA
T8	yes	To develop B.M.	yes	yes	To learn her MT well	yes
T9	yes	To excite them about their MT	yes	yes	To learn his MT	yes
T10	yes	To be able to understand B.M.	yes	no	She is busy with her family and house.	NA
S1	yes	To retain their MT	yes	yes	Everybody should learn their MT.	yes
S2	yes	To be able to understand B.M. well	yes	no	She already knows B.M.	NA
S3	yes	To learn their MT	yes	yes	To meet others	yes
S4	yes	To learn their MT	yes	yes	To learn	yes
S5	yes	To learn	yes	yes	To learn	yes
S6	yes	It's important.	yes	yes	To learn MT better	yes
S7	yes	To develop B.M.	if able	yes	To develop B.M.	yes
S8	yes	To develop B.M.	yes	yes	To meet new people	if able
S9	yes	To learn their MT	yes	yes	To understand & to learn	yes
S10	yes	To learn their MT	yes	yes	It would be good to learn	yes
S11	yes	To learn	yes	no	ND	NA
S12	yes	To learn their MT well	yes	yes	To learn	yes
S13	yes	To learn	yes	yes	To learn	yes
G1	yes	To increase knowledge of MT	yes	yes	It would be good to learn	yes
G2	yes	To learn	yes	yes	To know B.M. well	yes
G3	yes	To know and to understand their MT	yes	yes	To keep B.M. forever	yes
G4	yes	To retain their MT	yes	yes	For the future of Bangladesh	yes
G5	yes	This is their right.	yes	no	ND	NA
G6	yes	To know a lot	yes	yes	To learn B.M. better	yes
G7	yes	To learn to read the MT	yes	yes	To learn B.M. well	yes
G8	yes	To help their MT be better known	yes	yes	To learn B.M. fully	yes
G9	yes	To easily learn their MT	yes	yes	To retain their MT	yes

Subj. No.	17a. Kids to MT class?	17b. Why	17c. Pay?	18a. Go to MT class?	18b. Why	18c. Pay?
G10	yes	Learning MT is best for education	yes	yes	It would be fun & it would help her learn MT better.	yes
G11	yes	To retain their MT	yes	yes	To know B.M. better	yes
M1	yes	They definitely need to learn their MT.	yes	no	He doesn't need this.	NA
M3	yes	To learn their MT well	yes	yes	To learn more	yes
M4	yes	It would be good for the group if the children knew the lg. better.	yes	no	He already knows how to read & write B.M.	NA
M5	yes	To learn well	yes	no	She doesn't wish to go.	NA
M6	yes	To keep their group's traditions	yes	no	The classes would not be good.	NA
M7	yes	To learn well	yes	no	It's not important.	NA
M8	yes	To establish a good foundation for learning MT	yes	yes	To learn more about her group	yes
M9	yes	Learning MT will increase their ability.	yes	yes	To encourage others	yes
M11	yes	To learn their MT well & for development	yes	yes	To learn pure B.M.	yes
D1	yes	To retain their MT	yes	yes	For the development of the Manipuri people	yes
D2	yes	To learn their MT	yes	yes	To learn his MT better	yes
D3	yes	It would be good for them to be literate in their MT.	yes	yes	For the betterment of the Manipuri society	yes
D4	yes	For the development of the Manipuri people	yes	yes	He needs to keep learning until the time of his death.	yes
D5	yes	To learn their MT	yes	yes	To truly learn his MT	yes
D6	yes	To establish their MT better	yes	yes	To establish his MT better	yes
D7	yes	To be able to use their MT better	yes	yes	To learn MT well with people her age	yes
D8	yes	To develop B.M.	yes	yes	To retain their MT through the next generation	yes
D9	yes	For B.M. to become more up-to-date	yes	yes	To learn MT better	yes
D10	yes	To retain their MT	yes	yes	To increase his knowledge	yes
D11	yes	To learn MT well	yes	yes	To meet others	yes

Subj. No.	17a. Kids to MT class?	17b. Why	17c. Pay?	18a. Go to MT class?	18b. Why	18c. Pay?
D12	yes	To retain their MT & culture	yes	yes	To save their traditions	yes
D13	yes	To learn their MT & to become more developed	yes	yes	For development	yes
D14	yes	To learn to read & write their MT	yes	yes	To learn to read & write her MT	yes

D.3. Language vitality responses

Subj. No.	2a. Other lg. before school?	2b. Which?	3. Kids speak MT well?	4. Kids speak Bangla better?	5. Lg. use next generation	15. MT literate?	16. Bangla literate?
T1	yes	little B	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
T2	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	no	yes
T3	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	no	yes
T4	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	little	yes
T5	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
T6	yes	ND	yes	no	B.M.	can read; can't write	yes
T7	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
T8	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
T9	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	some	yes
T10	no	NA	no	no	B.M.	no	yes
S1	yes	B	yes	yes	mostly B.M. & some B	yes	yes
S2	yes	little B	yes	no	B.M. & B	yes	yes
S3	yes	B	yes	yes	B.M.	no	no
S4	yes	ND	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
S5	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	no	yes
S6	yes	B	yes	no	B.M. & B mixed	yes	yes
S7	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
S8	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
S9	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
S10	yes	B	yes	yes	B.M.	yes	yes
S11	yes	ND	yes	no	B.M.	no	no
S12	yes	little B	yes	no	B.M.	very little	yes
S13	yes	ND	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G1	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G2	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G3	yes	B	ND	no	mostly B.M. & some B	yes	yes

Subj. No.	2a. Other lg. before school?	2b. Which?	3. Kids speak MT well?	4. Kids speak Bangla better?	5. Lg. use next generation	15. MT literate?	16. Bangla literate?
G4	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	no	no
G5	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G6	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G7	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G8	yes	B	no	no	B	yes	yes
G9	yes	B	no	no	B.M.	yes	yes
G10	yes	little B	yes	no	mostly B & little B.M.	yes	yes
G11	yes	B	yes	yes	B	can read; can't write	yes
M1	yes	ND	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
M2	yes	B	yes	no	DK	yes	yes
M3	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	little	yes
M4	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	can read; can't write	yes
M5	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
M6	yes	B	no	no	B.M. & B	no	yes
M7	yes	B	yes	yes	B.M. & B	no	no
M8	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	little	yes
M9	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	can read; can't write	yes
M11	yes	B	yes	no	B.M.	no	yes
D1	no	NA	yes	no	B.M. & B	yes	yes
D2	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
D3	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
D4	yes	B	no	no	B.M. & B	yes	yes
D5	yes	B	no	no	B.M. & B	yes	yes
D6	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
D7	yes	B	yes	no	B	yes	yes
D8	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	yes	yes
D9	yes	ND	yes	yes	B.M.	yes	yes
D10	no	NA	yes	no	B	no	yes
D11	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	no	yes
D12	yes	B	no	no	B.M. & B	yes	yes
D13	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	little	yes
D14	no	NA	yes	no	B.M.	no	yes

D.4. Dialect responses and bilingualism responses

Subj. No.	1a. Where MT different?	1b. Lg. use there	7a&b. Lgs. speak & age	8. Best lg.	9. 2nd best lg.	10. Always say in 2nd best?
T1	no place	NA	B:6; M:20	B.M.	B	yes
T2	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
T3	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
T4	no place	NA	B:15; M:15	B.M.	B	yes
T5	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
T6	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	no
T7	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	no
T8	no place	NA	B:8	B.M.	B	no
T9	no place	NA	B:6; E:17	B.M.	B	yes
T10	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	no
S1	no place	NA	B:7	B	B.M.	yes
S2	no place	NA	B:6; H:15	B.M.	B	yes
S3	no place	NA	B:10	B.M.	B	yes
S4	no place	NA	B:7	B.M.	B	yes
S5	no place	NA	M:3; B:6	B.M.	B	yes
S6	no place	NA	B:2	B.M.	B	yes
S7	no place	NA	B:6; E:16; H:25	B.M.	B	yes
S8	no place	NA	B:6; H:18; E:18	B.M.	B	yes
S9	no place	NA	B:6; H:17; E:17	B.M.	B	yes
S10	no place	NA	B:5	B.M.	B	yes
S11	no place	NA	none	B.M.	NA	NA
S12	no place	NA	B:8	B.M.	B	yes
S13	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
G1	no place	NA	B:5; H:15	B.M.	B	yes
G2	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
G3	no place	NA	B:3	B.M.	B	yes
G4	no place	NA	B:7; M:15	B.M.	B	yes
G5	no place	NA	B:5; M:15	B.M.	B	yes
G6	no place	NA	B:4; H:15; E:18	B.M.	B	yes
G7	no place	NA	B:6; H:18	B.M.	B	yes
G8	no place	NA	B:10; M:20; E:25	B.M.	B	yes
G9	no place	NA	B:6; H:15	B.M.	B	yes
G10	no place	NA	B:10; H:15	B.M.	B	yes
G11	no place	NA	B:16	B.M.	B	no
M1	no place	NA	B:6; E:30; H:30	B.M.	B	yes
M2	no place	NA	B:5; H:10	B.M.	B	yes
M3	no place	NA	B:3; H:12	B.M.	B	yes

Subj. No.	1a. Where MT different?	1b. Lg. use there	7a&b. Lgs. speak & age	8. Best lg.	9. 2nd best lg.	10. Always say in 2nd best?
M4	no place	NA	B:3; H:3	B.M.	B	yes
M5	no place	NA	B:3; H:25	B.M.	B	no
M6	no place	NA	B:6; E:10	B	B.M.	no
M7	no place	NA	B:6; M:20	B.M.	B	no
M8	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
M9	no place	NA	B:12	B.M.	B	yes
M11	no place	NA	B:10	B.M.	B	yes
D1	no place	NA	B:7; E:7; H:8	B.M.	B	no
D2	no place	NA	M:5; B:7	B.M.	B	yes
D3	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	no
D4	no place	NA	B:6; M:25; Assamese:45	B.M.	B	yes
D5	exists, but DK where	ND	B:6	B.M.	B	no
D6	no place	NA	B:7; E:16	B.M.	B	yes
D7	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
D8	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
D9	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
D10	no place	NA	B:6; H:18; Assamese:18	B.M.	B	yes
D11	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	yes
D12	no place	NA	B:6; E:6; H:11	B.M.	B	no
D13	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	no
D14	no place	NA	B:6	B.M.	B	no

E. BANGLA SENTENCE REPETITION TEST

E.1. Standard Sentence Repetition Test procedures¹

A sentence repetition test (SRT) is based on the premise that people's ability to repeat sentences in a second language is limited by the level of their mastery of the morphology and syntax of that second language. The greater proficiency they have in that language, the better able they are to repeat sentences of increasing length and complexity. A SRT is developed separately for each language to be tested. Detailed procedures for developing and calibrating a SRT are presented in Radloff (1991). The sentences selected are calibrated against an evaluative instrument called the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE), where mother-tongue raters are provided with a detailed framework of proficiency descriptions against which to evaluate the

¹ The description of procedures for sentence repetition testing is quoted from appendix A of O'Leary (ed. 1992); it was authored by Carla F. Radloff. It is used by permission of the author.

proficiency of their second language speaking acquaintances.² The half-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of proficiency in a second language, as elaborated in figure E.1.

Figure E.1: Descriptions of RPE proficiency levels

<i>RPE proficiency level</i>	<i>Brief description</i>
0+	Very minimal proficiency
1	Minimal, limited proficiency
1+	Limited, basic proficiency
2	Adequate, basic proficiency
2+	Good, basic proficiency
3	Good, general proficiency
3+	Very good, general proficiency
4	Excellent proficiency
4+	Approaching native speaker proficiency

A SRT provides a rapid assessment of a person's second language proficiency, suited to the purposes of a bilingualism survey. It is often the goal of a bilingualism survey to obtain a profile of the second language proficiencies in the community under investigation, that is, a picture of what percentage of the population can be projected to be at each of the different levels of proficiency. In order to do this, a large and representative sample of the population must be tested. This speaks to the need for an assessment instrument that is quick and easy to administer.

The short administration time, however, is offset by careful attention to the development and calibration of a SRT. The SRT provides a general assessment; thus, the researcher must be able to place full confidence in the results through strict attention to the quality of each developmental step. A complete step-by-step methodology for developing and calibrating a SRT is given in Radloff (1991).

The development and calibration of an SRT proceeds through several steps: A preliminary form of the test is developed through the assistance of mother tongue speakers of the test language. A large group of second language speakers of the test language have their proficiency assessed through a second, more descriptive proficiency standard instrument, in this case the RPE. These people are then administered the preliminary form of the test. Based on their performances, fifteen sentences are selected, which prove to be the most discriminating of performance and also represent increasing complexity and length. These fifteen sentences are calibrated against the proficiency assessments from the RPE. This fifteen-sentence final form of the test is used in the bilingualism survey, and the resulting test scores are interpreted in terms of equivalent RPE proficiency levels.

The Bangla SRT was developed by Amy Kim (2003). The ranges of Bangla SRT scores corresponding to RPE levels are presented in figure E.2.

² RPE levels, as assigned by mother-tongue raters, show an internal consistency, but have not yet been correlated with any other, more widely recognized, scale of second language proficiency. The rationale and methodology for the Reported Proficiency Evaluation is also included in Radloff (1991).

Figure E.2: Bangla SRT scores and predicted RPE levels:

<i>Bangla SRT Score</i>	<i>Predicted RPE Level</i>
0 – 2	1
3 – 8	1+
9 – 14	2
15 – 21	2+
22 – 27	3
28 – 33	3+
34 – 39	4
40 – 45	4+

E.2. Bangla SRT

In the following sentences, the following line codes are used:

Code	Meaning:
\#	Sentence number
\b	Bangla sentence
\p	Phonetic transcription
\g	Word-for-word English gloss of transcribed text
\f	Free (natural) English translation of the text
\c	Comment about scoring

\P1

\b AvRɪK Zvi Rbʋ̃ b

\p aɖʒke tar ɖʒɔ̃ñmoɖin

\g today 3s-poss birthday

\f Today is his birthday.

\P2

\b Avgvi eɐv gvQ aɖi

\p amar baba maɖʒ ɖ^hore

\g 1s-poss father fish catches

\f My father catches fish.

\P3

\b ʃmLɪʃb Zvi v mvi w̃ b KvR Kɖi

\p ʃek^haɳe ʃarə ʃarəɖiɳ kaɖʒ kore

\g there-in 3p all-day work do

\f They work there all day long.

\P4

\b ʋKʃɪ AvMvgɪ Kvj GUv Avgvi j vMɖe

\p kiɳtu agami kal eɖa amar lagbe

\g but coming day this 1s-poss will-need

\f But tomorrow I will need this.

\P5

\b KvɖVi ʋg⁻ɳ GKUv bZɖ Rvbɪj v evbɪʃ^o

\p kaɖ^her miɖtri ækɖə noɳuɳ ɖʒaɳala banaɖ^he

\g wood-poss craftsman one new window is-building

\f The wood craftsman is making a new window.

\1
 \b ʃːvKvʃb ɲewfʃbæ aiʃbi wɔwó cvl qv hvq
 \p dɔkəne bib^{hi}ɪŋ:ɔ d^hɔroŋer miʃti paowa dʒaj
 \g store-at various type-poss sweet getting goes
 \f Various types of sweets can be found in stores.

\2
 \b Zvi v ɲekʃtʃgi ʃZgb mʃhvM cvq bv
 \p ʃarə bisramer ʃæmoŋ ʃudʒog paj ɲa
 \g 3p rest-poss such opportunity get not
 \f They don't get much opportunity to rest.

\3
 \b AvR ɲekvʃj ZvʃK dj ɲKbʃZ nʃe
 \p aɔʒ bikale ʃake ʃɔl kinʃe hɔbe
 \g today afternoon-in 3s-to fruit to-buy will-have-to
 \f He has to buy fruit this afternoon.

\4
 \b Avɔg Avgvi ʃevʃbi KvQ ʃ_ʃK Dcnvi ʃcʃqɔQ
 \p ami amar boŋer kaʃs^h ʃ^heke upohar pejeʃ^hi
 \g 1s 1s-poss sister-poss nearness from gift have-received
 \f I received a gift from my sister.

\5
 \b evɔʃZ ʃKvb ʃj vK AvʃQ etj gʃb nq bv
 \p baʃiʃe koŋo lok aʃ^he bole moŋe hɔj ɲʌ
 \g home-in any person is says mind-in becomes not
 \f It doesn't seem as if there's anyone home.

\6
 \b ʃh chʃ- ɲwó bv _vʃg ʃm chʃ- Avgiv GLvʃb _vKe
 \p dʒe porɔʒoŋto briʃti ɲa ʃ^hame ʃe porɔʒoŋto amra ek^hane ʃ^hakbo
 \g when until rain not stops then until 1p here-at will-stay
 \f We will stay here until the rain stops.

\7
 \b GKU AvʃM evRvi ʃ_ʃK GKUv Bɔj k gvQ ɲKʃb GʃbvQ
 \p ekʃu age baɔʒar ʃ^heke ækʃa iliʃ maʃ^h kinʃe eŋeʃ^hi
 \g a-little ago market from one ilish fish having-bought have-brought
 \f Having bought a hilsa fish at the market a little while ago, I brought it.

\8
 \b ʃm RvbʃZv evbʃi iv Lʃ AbʃKi Y ɲcʃq nq
 \p ʃe dʒaŋto baŋorera k^hub oŋukoroŋ prijo hɔj
 \g 3s did-know monkeys very imitation favorite becomes
 \f He knew monkeys really like to imitate.

\9									
\b1	hw`	AvCwɔb	gvɔɔl tK	fɔj	bv	evtmb	gvɔɔl l	AvCɔvtK	fɔj
\p1	dʒoɔdi	apɔi	manuʃke	b ^h alo	ɲa	baʃeɲ	manuʃo	apɔake	b ^h alo
\g1	if	2s	people-to	well	not	deem	people-also	2s-to	well
\b2	evmte	bv							
\p2	baʃbe	ɲʌ							
\g2	will-deem	not							
\f	If you don't treat people well, they won't treat you well either.								

\10									
\b	Ges	Rɔetb	memgq	wKQy	wɔqg	tɔtb	Pj tZ	nte	
\p	ebonɔ	dʒiboɔe	ʃɔbʃɔmoj	kitʃ ^h u	ɲijom	meɲe	tʃolte	hobe	
\g	and	life-in	all-time	some	rules	having-followed	to-move	will-have-to	
\f	And in life, at all times, one must follow some rules.								

\11									
\b1	mʒi vs	b`x	Avɔvt`i	AtbK	DcKvi	Kti	Ges	gvʃS-gvʃS	
\p1	ʃuɔɔɔɔɔɔ	ɲoɔdi	amaɔer	ɔɲek	upokar	kore	ebonɔ	madʒ ^h e-madʒ ^h e	
\g1	therefore	river	1p-to	much	benevolence	do	and	sometimes	
\b2	AcKvi l	Kti							
\p2	ɔpokaro	kore							
\g2	harm-also	do							
\f	Therefore, rivers benefit us a lot and sometimes also harm us.								

\12									
\b1	cUj	bvtgi	tKvb	meRɔ	evRvt l	cvl qv	hvq	Zv	AvtM
\p1	pɔɔol	ɲamer	koɲo	sobɔzi	badʒare	paowa	dʒaj	ta	age
\g1	patol	name-poss	any	vegetable	market-in	getting	goes	that	before
\b2	Awg	RvbZvg	bv						
\p2	ami	dʒaɲtam	ɲa						
\g2	1s	did-know	not						
\f	I didn't know before that there is such a vegetable as "patol" available in the market.								

\13									
\b1	b`x	Avɔvt`i	Rb`	LɛB	cʃqvRɔxq	Kvi Y	b`x	cɔ_	
\p1	ɲoɔdi	amaɔer	dʒoɲ:o	k ^h ubi	projodʒoɲijo	karoɲ	ɲoɔdi	pɔɔ ^h e	
\g1	river	1p-poss	for	very-emph	important	because	river	route-on	
\b2	Avɔi v	e`emv	Ki tZ	cwi					
\p2	amra	bæbʃa	koɔte	pari					
\g2	1p	business	to-do	are-able					
\f	Rivers are very important for us because we are able to do business along river routes.								

\14									
\b	Zey	gvʃS-gvʃS	wɛtkl	mgɔtq	Zvi v	wKQy	Avb>`-dɔvZ [©]	Kti	
\p	ʃobuo	madʒ ^h e-madʒ ^h e	biʃeʃ	ʃomoje	ʃarə	kitʃ ^h u	aɲoɲɔdo-ɔurɔti	kore	
\g	nevertheless	sometimes	special	time-in	3p	some	joy-delight	do	
\f	Nevertheless, sometimes on special occasions they have some fun.								

\15						
\b1	b`xi	cwɔb	Mfxi	nɪ qvq	AɬbK	LɔRI
\p1	ɲoɖir	paɲi	gob ^h ir	hoowaj	ɔɲek	k ^h ũdʒeo
\g1	river-poss	water	deep	happening-because	much	having-searched-although
\b2	ɬm Zvi	KwɪUv	ɬɕj	bv		
\p2	ʃe ɬar	kuɬ ^h arɬa	pelo	ɲʌ		
\g2	3s 3s-poss	axe	did-find	not		
\f	Although he searched a lot, he didn't find his axe because the river was deep.					

E.3. SRT scores

The following table displays SRT scores for all thirty-eight Bishnupriya subjects. The subject numbers in the far-left column correspond with the subject numbers given with the biodata in appendix G.4. For each of the twenty sentences (five practice sentences and fifteen test sentences), each subject's score is given. This is based on a four-point scale (0–3) for each sentence. The total score at the far right is a summation of the subject's scores on the fifteen test sentences. That is, the total score does not include the subject's scores on the five practice sentences.

Subj. No.	Bangla SRT sentence number																				Total Score
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
1T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	1	2	1	3	36
2T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	0	2	40
3T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	0	2	40
4T	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	18
5T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	32
6T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	28
7T	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	28
8T	3	3	3	2	9	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	22
9T	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	1	1	0	33
10T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	2	2	0	0	0	32
11T	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	2	2	1	2	2	3	0	33
12T	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
13T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	0	32
14T	3	3	2	0	0	3	3	0	3	3	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	17
15T	3	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	26
16T	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	0	30
17T	0	3	1	0	0	2	2	1	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	2	0	2	1	0	27
18T	1	3	2	1	0	2	1	1	2	3	3	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	18
19T	3	3	3	0	1	3	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
20T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	0	1	3	2	0	1	1	0	28
21T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	0	2	0	35
22T	3	3	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	25
23T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0	0	35
24T	3	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
25T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	41
26T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	1	0	0	34
27T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	0	0	0	2	0	30
28T	3	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
29T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	45
30T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	3	3	0	1	0	33
31T	2	3	3	3	0	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	0	1	0	34
32T	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	1	1	36
33T	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
34T	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	36
35T	3	3	3	1	3	3	2	3	3	3	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
36T	3	3	2	1	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
37T	3	3	3	2	1	3	2	2	3	3	3	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	1	0	24
38T	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	26

F. BISHNUPRIYA COMMUNITY INFORMATION

F.1. Tilakpur

Date: 17 March 2003

Location: A 30-minute rickshaw ride south from Bhanugach to Ranir Bazar; then a 10-minute walk east along a dirt path; also lies along main road just north of Ranir Bazar.

- 1a. **Thana:** Kamalganj
- 1b. **District:** Moulvibazar
2. **Population:** 300 families; 1500 people (all Bishnupriya)
3. **Religions:** “own religion”
4. **Mother tongues:** Bishnupriya
5. **Work:** farming, weaving, a few salaried jobs
6. **Nearest post office:** Kamalganj
- 7a. **NT:** no
- 7b. **Mobile:** yes
- 8a. **Nearest hospital:** Gopalnagar (near Kamalganj)
- 8b. **Nearest clinic:** Bhanugach
9. **Government schools:** none right in village but in Ranir Bazar (very close by); thru class 10
10. **Non-government education:** none
11. **Children who attend school:** all
12. **Girls who attend school:** all
13. **Most students complete:** 9th
14. **Children who finish 5th:** all
15. **Children who finish 10th:** most
16. **Number who have completed BA:** 20
17. **Electricity:** yes
18. **Water source:** tubewell and a few ponds
- 19a. **Radio:** no (not anymore because they watch TV instead)
- 19b. **Language:** NA
- 20a. **Television:** yes
- 20b. **Languages:** Bangla, Hindi

F.2. Soi Sri

Date: 18 March 2003

Location: A 1-hour express bus ride from Srimangal to Chunarughat; then a 20-minute tempo ride south to Amrut; then a 15-minute rickshaw ride, roughly south to Soi Sri, mainly along a dirt road.

- 1a. **Thana:** Chunarughat
- 1b. **District:** Habiganj
2. **Population:** 200 families in the area (Bijgao); 50 families in Soisri “proper”
3. **Religions:** Hindu
4. **Mother tongues:** Bishnupriya
5. **Work:** farming, weaving, a few salaried jobs, defense
6. **Nearest post office:** Guchapara (2 km)
- 7a. **TNT:** no

- 7b. **Mobile:** yes
- 8a. **Nearest hospital:** Razar Bazar (3 km)
- 8b. **Nearest clinic:** BRAC clinic in Amrut (2.5 km)
- 9. **Government schools:** thru class 5
- 10. **Non-government education:** BRAC school thru class 2
- 11. **Children who attend school:** all
- 12. **Girls who attend school:** all
- 13. **Most students complete:** 10th
- 14. **Children who finish 5th:** all
- 15. **Children who finish 10th:** almost all
- 16. **Number who have completed BA:** 20-25
- 17. **Electricity:** yes
- 18. **Water source:** tubewell and well
- 19a. **Radio:** no
- 19b. **Language:** NA
- 20a. **Television:** yes
- 20b. **Languages:** Bangla, Hindi

F.3. Gulerhaor

Date: 19 March 2003

Location: A 1-hour bus ride south from Bhanugach; along the main road; near the Indian border.

- 1a. **Thana:** Kamalganj
- 1b. **District:** Moulvibazar
- 2. **Population:** 53 families; about 300 people (all Bishnupriya)
- 3. **Religions:** Hindu
- 4. **Mother tongues:** Bishnupriya
- 5. **Work:** farming, school teachers
- 6. **Nearest post office:** Islampur
- 7a. **TNT:** yes
- 7b. **Mobile:** yes
- 8a. **Nearest hospital:** Bhanugach
- 8b. **Nearest clinic:** family-planning clinic in Gularhaor
- 9. **Government schools:** thru class 5
- 10. **Non-government education:** private school thru class 10
- 11. **Children who attend school:** all
- 12. **Girls who attend school:** all
- 13. **Most students complete:** 10th
- 14. **Children who finish 5th:** all
- 15. **Children who finish 10th:** most
- 16. **Number who have completed BA:** 8
- 17. **Electricity:** yes
- 18. **Water source:** one tubewell for every two houses and a few ponds
- 19a. **Radio:** no (not anymore because they watch TV instead)
- 19b. **Language:** NA
- 20a. **Television:** yes
- 20b. **Languages:** Bangla, Hindi

F.4. Machimpur

Date: 21 March 2003

Location: A 20-minute rickshaw ride from the Sylhet bus station, across the main bridge.

- 1a. **Thana:** Putoali
- 1b. **District:** Sylhet
2. **Population:** 70 families; 800-850 people (all Bishnupriya)
3. **Religions:** Hindu
4. **Mother tongues:** Bishnupriya
5. **Work:** salaried jobs, running businesses, loom weaving
6. **Nearest post office:** Sylhet 3100
- 7a. **TNT:** yes
- 7b. **Mobile:** yes
- 8a. **Nearest hospital:** government hospital close by
- 8b. **Nearest clinic:** none closer than the government hospital
9. **Government schools:** thru class 5 in village; thru class 10 just outside village
10. **Non-government education:** none
11. **Children who attend school:** all
12. **Girls who attend school:** all
13. **Most students complete:** HSC
14. **Children who finish 5th:** all
15. **Children who finish 10th:** all
16. **Number who have completed BA:** 10
17. **Electricity:** yes
18. **Water source:** tubewell
- 19a. **Radio:** yes
- 19b. **Language:** Bangla
- 20a. **Television:** yes
- 20b. **Languages:** Bangla, Hindi, English

F.5. Dhonitila

Date: 22 March 2003

Location: From Sylhet (Couki Dekhi) to Toker Bajar; Sonbari; cross the bridge and walk to Dhonitila.

- 1a. **Thana:** Chattok
- 1b. **District:** Sunamganj
2. **Population:** 23 families; more than 200 people (all Bishnupriya)
3. **Religions:** Hindu
4. **Mother tongues:** Bishnupriya
5. **Work:** farming, laborers, salaried jobs
6. **Nearest post office:** Chonbari Bazar
- 7a. **TNT:** no
- 7b. **Mobile:** yes
- 8a. **Nearest hospital:** Chattok
- 8b. **Nearest clinic:** Chonbari Bazar
9. **Government schools:** thru class 5

10. **Non-government education:** none
 11. **Children who attend school:** all
 12. **Girls who attend school:** all
 13. **Most students complete:** 8th
 14. **Children who finish 5th:** all
 15. **Children who finish 10th:** 1/3
 16. **Number who have completed BA:** 1
 17. **Electricity:** no; solar panels on few houses
 18. **Water source:** deep wells
 19a. **Radio:** yes
 19b. **Language:** Bangla, Bishnupriya
 20a. **Television:** yes
 20b. **Languages:** Bangla, Hindi

G. SUBJECT BIODATA

G.1. Biodata notes

The following abbreviations are used in the biodata tables below:

Education:

SSC = secondary school certificate

HSC = higher secondary certificate

10 = completed class 10 but did not pass SSC exam

Language:

B.M. = Bishnupriya Manipuri

G.2. Wordlist and CIQ informant biodata

W	C	Date	Name	Place	A	S	Educ	Current Residence	MT	M's MT	F's MT	Other res. and length (in years)
L	I				g	e						
Q	Q				e	x						
X	X	3/17/03	Chaliya Singha	Tilakpur	70	M	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Srimangal:5
	X	3/18/03	Dulano Singha	Soi Sri	32	M	SSC	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
	X	3/19/03	Alpona Sinha	Gulerhaor	20	F	SSC	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:3
X	X	3/21/03	Moturaj Singha	Machimpur	45	M	SSC	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Dhonitila:8
X	X	3/21/03	Indramohon Singha	Dhonitila	41	M	SSC	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:3
X		3/18/03	Koruna Sinha	Soi Sri	55	F	5	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
X		3/19/03	Makhon Singha	Gulerhaor	50	M	SSC	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
X		3/25/03	Suman Singha	Madhapur	21	M	HSC	Madhapur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none

G.3. Sociolinguistic questionnaire subject biodata

Subj. No.	Date	Place	Age	Sex	Educ	Current Residence	MT	M's MT	F's MT	Other residences and length (in years)
T1	3/17/03	Tilakpur	70	M	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Srimangal:5
T2	3/17/03	Tilakpur	44	M	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Dhaka:11; Chittagong:3; Khulna:5; Bandarban:1; Dinajpur:3
T3	3/17/03	Tilakpur	32	F	8	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Goramara:17
T4	3/17/03	Tilakpur	84	M	6	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
T5	3/17/03	Tilakpur	30	F	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Adampur:23; Sylhet:2
T6	3/17/03	Tilakpur	44	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Choygori:15
T7	3/17/03	Tilakpur	20	M	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Moulvi Bazar:2
T8	3/17/03	Tilakpur	18	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
T9	3/17/03	Tilakpur	47	M	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Dinajpur:15; Rangpur:1; Khulna:5
T10	3/17/03	Tilakpur	28	F	7	Tilakpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Bhanubil:23
S1	3/18/03	Soi Sri	35	M	8	South Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Kortoli:20
S2	3/18/03	Soi Sri	23	M	SSC	South Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Chittagong:3
S3	3/18/03	Soi Sri	55	F	5	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S4	3/18/03	Soi Sri	45	F	10	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Komlapur:8; Moulvi Bazar:12
S5	3/18/03	Soi Sri	35	F	5	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Garer Gao:25
S6	3/18/03	Soi Sri	17	M	SSC	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:2; Banugach:2
S7	3/18/03	Soi Sri	32	M	SSC	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S8	3/18/03	Soi Sri	29	F	SSC	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S9	3/18/03	Soi Sri	21	M	SSC	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S10	3/18/03	Soi Sri	50	M	7	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S11	3/18/03	Soi Sri	60	F	0	Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S12	3/18/03	Soi Sri	75	M	8	North Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
S13	3/18/03	Soi Sri	25	M	HSC	North Soi Sri	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
G1	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	21	F	SSC	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
G2	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	42	F	8	Shripur (Gulerhaor)	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Baligao:20
G3	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	48	F	10	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
G4	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	80	M	0	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Agortola:7; Manipur:2

Subj. No.	Date	Place	Age	Sex	Educ	Current Residence	MT	M's MT	F's MT	Other residences and length (in years)
G5	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	78	M	5	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
G6	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	21	M	SSC	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:4
G7	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	20	F	SSC	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:3
G8	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	43	M	BA	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:3; Comilla:1
G9	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	19	F	SSC	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
G10	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	18	F	11	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
G11	3/19/03	Gulerhaor	60	M	5	Gulerhaor	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
M1	3/21/03	Machimpur	45	M	SSC	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Dhonitila:8
M2	3/22/03	Machimpur	25	M	B Com	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
M3	3/22/03	Machimpur	23	F	HSC	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
M4	3/22/03	Machimpur	19	M	SSC	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
M5	3/22/03	Machimpur	42	F	10	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Selong:15
M6	3/22/03	Machimpur	35	M	BA	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
M7	3/22/03	Machimpur	45	F	5	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Dhaluya:20; Ghuramara:3
M8	3/22/03	Machimpur	28	F	BA	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Baligao:27
M9	3/22/03	Machimpur	38	M	8	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Ghuramara:18
M11	3/22/03	Machimpur	41	F	7	Machimpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Hiramati:29
D1	3/21/03	Dhonitila	41	M	SSC	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:3
D2	3/21/03	Dhonitila	55	M	10	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Balibor:20
D3	3/21/03	Dhonitila	31	M	10	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
D4	3/21/03	Dhonitila	57	M	10	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Chondipur:32
D5	3/21/03	Dhonitila	39	M	10	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Chondipur:17
D6	3/22/03	Dhonitila	22	M	HSC	Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
D7	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	37	F	10	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
D8	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	38	M	SSC	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Chatok:7
D9	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	39	F	10	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Madhapur:2
D10	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	33	M	10	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none
D11	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	26	F	2	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Madhapur:23
D12	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	45	M	HSC	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Sylhet:5; Kamalganj:5
D13	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	27	F	10	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	Bhanubil:5
D14	3/22/03	Ramnagar Dhonitila	24	F	10	Ramnagar Dhonitila	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	none

G.4. Bangla SRT subject biodata

Subj. No.	Date	Place	A g e	S e x	Educ	Current Residence	MT	Other residences and length (in years)
1T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	22	M	HSC	Uttor Banabil	B.M.	none
2T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	23	M	BS	Sylhet	B.M.	Tilakpur:13
3T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	28	M	MA	Tilakpur	B.M.	Sylhet:12(p-t); Habiganj:5
4T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	45	F	3	Tilakpur	B.M.	Adampur:20; Habiganj:3; Kulaura:3
5T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	62	M	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	Dhaka, Mymensingh, Comilla, Sylhet, Habiganj:34 total
6T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	40	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
7T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	33	F	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	Madapur:16
8T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	75	M	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
9T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	52	M	B Ed	Tilakpur	B.M.	Comilla:5(p-t)
10T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	15	F	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
11T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	18	F	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
12T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	50	F	5	Tilakpur	B.M.	Madapur:20; Dhaka:4; Jessore:3; Comilla:2; Chittagong:5
13T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	24	M	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
14T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	60	M	6	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
15T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	61	M	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
16T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	40	M	5	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
17T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	71	M	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
18T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	96	M	6	Tilakpur	B.M.	Silchar, India:1
19T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	50	F	5	Tilakpur	B.M.	Madapur:20
20T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	65	M	9	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
21T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	21	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
22T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	30	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	Hiramoti:20
23T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	45	F	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
24T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	40	F	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
25T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	18	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
26T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	29	F	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	Sylhet:20
27T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	26	M	10	Adampur	B.M.	Tilakpur:25
28T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	20	F	9	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
29T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	24	F	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
30T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	50	F	SSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	Banubil:22; Sylhet:25
31T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	70	M	BA	Tilakpur	B.M.	Sylhet:32
32T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	17	M	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	Sylhet:13
33T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	48	F	5	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
34T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	20	F	10	Tilakpur	B.M.	none

35T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	45	M	HSC	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
36T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	34	M	7	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
37T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	27	M	8	Tilakpur	B.M.	none
38T	4/13/03	Tilakpur	27	M	7	Tilakpur	B.M.	none

H. RECORDED TEXT TESTS

H.1. Purpose and procedures

The purpose of the Recorded Text Test (RTT) is to determine the level of inherent intelligibility between speech varieties—that is, speakers of one speech variety understand another variety not through exposure and learning, but because the other variety has inherent similarities to their own speech variety. To test this, a story is recorded in one speech variety and comprehension questions are formulated. Then the story is validated among mother-tongue speakers of that speech variety; this is called the hometown test (HTT) validation step. Later, the story is played to speakers of a second variety, and the comprehension questions, which have been now translated into the second variety, are asked to assess how much and how well the story was understood.

For the Bishnupriya survey, two such stories were developed—one in Madoi Gang and another in Rajar Gang; these two stories are respectively called the Madoi Gang and the Rajar Gang hometown tests. Even though they were validated, the two HTTs were not used as a part of an RTT because the wordlists showed a high enough level of lexical similarity so as to make the RTT redundant. However, as a matter of record, we present the two stories here in case it might be useful in the future as a research tool for other linguists.

H.2. Codes used in the transcription of text

In the following texts, the following line codes are used:

Code:	Meaning:
\n #	Line number
\p	Phonetic transcription
\b	Bishnupriya transcription
\g	Word-by-word English gloss of transcribed text
\f	Free (natural) English translation of the text
\Question #	Question number
\Q	Free (natural) English translation of the question
\A	Expected answer for the question

H.3. Bishnupriya Rajar Gang hometown test (HTT)

Below is the text of the story used as the Rajar Gang hometown test. It was recorded at Gulerhaor on 23 March, 2003, from a 20-year old male who had lived there his entire life. The story was later transcribed in Bangla script by Rabi Singha, who also gave the Bangla gloss for each Bishnupriya word or phrase. The English gloss was then translated from that Bangla gloss by Seung Kim.

H.3.1 Text of the story

\n 1

\p	madane	ami	nikka	k ^h eliar	amar	maṭ ^h got
\b	gṽṽṭb	Aṁg	ṁb ^o v	ṭLuj qvi	Aṁgi	gṽṂMZ
\g	in afternoon	WE	every day	play	our	at field
\f	<i>We played every afternoon in our field.</i>					

\Question 1

\Q: Every day, when did they play in the field?

\A: Afternoon

\n 2

\p	morta	baro	k ^h elar	proti	ṭanhani	nijam
\b	gi Zṽ	evṭiv	ṭLj vi	cṰZ	Uṽbrṁb	ṁbqvg
\g	My	but	playing	toward	attraction	much
\f	<i>When I reached the river, I met my friends. There were three of us.</i>					

\n 3

\p	mi	nikka	k ^h ani	na	k ^h ele	rati	g ^h um	naher
\b	ṁg	ṁb ^o v	Lṁb	bṽ	ṭLj ṭj	iṁZ	Ng	bṽṭni
\g	I	everyday	some	NOT	if play	at night	sleep	not come
\f	<i>If I didn't play everyday, then I couldn't sleep at night.</i>							

\Question 2

\Q: What happened if he didn't play every day?

\A: He couldn't sleep at night.

\n 4

\p	mor	prijo	k ^h elahan	ṁṭta	kriket
\b	gi	ṁcṰ	ṭLj ṁvb	ABj Zṽ	ṁṭṭKU
\g	My	favorite	sport	was	cricket
\f	<i>My favorite sport was cricket.</i>				

\n 5

\p	akdm	madane	ami	hobbje	ṭṭja	k ^h eliar
\b	AvKṽṽ	gṽṽṭb	Aṁg	nṁṽṭq	ṁZuj qv	ṭLuj qvi
\g	One day	in afternoon	we	EVERYONE	together	play
\f	<i>One day, all of us were playing together in the afternoon.</i>					

\n 6

\p	oupeṭ	more	k ^h aṁda	koria	mor	ṭagor	ṁtagoi
\b	JṭcBZ	gṭi	Lṽs ^ṽ	Kṁi qv	gi	j Mi	AZṂB
\g	that time	to me	suddenly		my	pal	one person

\p dʒɔbor akorɛ balgolo garigot dija d^hɛlli
 \b Rei AvKti ej Mj Mwi MZ w^h qv taj x-
 \g very hard with ball to body threw
 \f *That time, one of my pals suddenly threw a ball very hard at my body.*

\n 7

\p oupɔka mor bɔjɔf nijam natʃ^hɛ baro bɔtʃ^hor
 \b JCKv gi eqm wɔqvɔg bɪtQ evti v eQi
 \g that time my age much not twelve year
 \f *At that time, I wasn't very old, just 12 years.*

\Question 3

\Q: How old was he at that time?

\A: 12.

\n 8

\p mi baro kanti tʃ^holia tempakgono
 \b wɔ evti v KwɪS- Qj xqv tʒgɪvK Mb
 \g I but angry became stone

 \p ougor murgor bidia murgor faʒade bellu
 \b JMi gi Mi wɛw^h qv gj Mi dɪvUvɪ^h tej y-
 \g HIS to head threw head cut
 \f *I got angry and threw a stone at his head, and his head cut open.*

\Question 4

\Q: What did he use to hit his friend?

\A: A stone.

\n 9

\p pitʃ^hɛde mor lɔgor ɔtakitaj d^hɔrad^hori korija tare g^hɔre nɪlaga
 \b wɔtQɪ^h gi j Mi AZwKZvq aivawi Kwɪ qv Zvɪi Nɪi wɔj vWv
 \g then my pal with them insisted him to home take
 \f *Then my friends said that they must take him home.*

\n 10

\p mite kita nahe bulija g^humdziluga karon
 \b wɔtZ wKZv bɪtn ejj qv NgwRj jWv Kvi b
 \g I some not said go to sleep because

 \p morta oupɔka ganirgot k^hub duhatʃ^hilu ɔhane
 \b gi Zv JCKv Mwi Mr Lɔ ʃ^hvwQj y Anɪtb
 \g my time body very hurting that's why
 \f *I didn't say anything and went to bed because my body was hurting a lot.*

\n 11

\p mor lɔgor ugor bapke ahija mor bapkɔraj bitʃar dɛtʃ^hɛga
 \b gi j Mi DMi evɔtK Avwqv gi evKivis wɛPvi t^hɪQMv
 \g my pal his father came my with father complaint gave
 \f *My pal's father came and complained to my father.*

\n 12

\p babaj ahija more biƣarraga
 \b eƣeƣq Avɪnqv gʦi wemvi i vMv
 \g father came to me look for
 \f *My dad came to look for me.*

\n 13

\p oupet imaj matlo g^hɔre g^humdzija ase
 \b JɪcZ Bgvq gvZj Nɪi NgwRqv AvtQ
 \g that time mother said in room was sleeping
 \f *Then my mother said I was sleeping in the room.*

\n 14

\p imaj baro mor g^hɔɔona ahan hannapase
 \b Bgvq eƣiv gi NUbv Avwb nɪbɪcɪtQ
 \g mother but my event that did not know
 \f *My mother did not know what I had done.*

\n 15

\p babate beɔan ʃoɔa more galat lagese
 \b eƣeƣZ teWwb tɪmʃi qv gʦi Mj vZ j vʦMʦQ
 \g father much anger to me rebuke struck
 \f *Father was very angry and rebuked me.*

\n 16

\p imaj ankoreri kita ɔtʃ^het^han
 \b Bgvq AvsKɪi ix wKZv AtQ_ɪs
 \g mother asked what happened
 \f *Mother asked what happened.*

\n 17

\p imare babaj habbiga k^hulija bageɣlo
 \b Bgvɪi eƣeɪB nweYMv Lɟj qv eɪtMBj
 \g to mom father everything openly explained
 \f *Father told mother everything.*

\n 18

\p oupet imaj more galagali korija matlo
 \b JɪcZ BgvB gʦi Mj vMwj Kwɪ qv gvZj
 \g that time mother to me yelling doing said
 \p ti arta kriket kita k^hɛla nartej
 \b wZ AvɪZv wɪtKU wKZv tLj v bvi tZB
 \g you anymore cricket what play can not
 \f *Then mother yelled at me and said I could not play cricket anymore.*

Question 5**\Q: What did his mother say to him?****\A: He couldn't play cricket anymore.****\n 19**

\p ou kət^ha hanor pərə mi bakka koto dɪn nahelija k^helat nageluga
 \b J K_v nɒbi cɪi ɪg ev^ov KZ w^lb bɪtɪnɪj qv †Lj vZ bɪtɪMj Mv
 \g that word hearing after I almost some days not play play didn't go
 \f *After hearing that, I didn't go to play for a number of days.*

\n 20

\p pərə akdɪn pətɔpədə dʒaoriga ʃɔmb^həbɔt ɔpaga madanhan †ʃarta badʒe
 \b cɪi AvKw^lb c₋Mt^h hvɪ wɪ Mv m=ɛZ AcvMv gv^lvɒnvb Pvi Zv ev†R
 \g later one at path was going probably that afternoon four o'clock
 day time
 \f *Later, one day, I was walking on a road around 4 o'clock in the afternoon.*

\n 21

\p mor uddeʃfohan ɔjɪlta mat^hgɔt gija k^helani
 \b gi D†ɪ k^lnɒb ABj Zv gvVMZ wMqv †Lj vɒx
 \g my goal was field go to play
 \f *My goal was to go to the field to play.*

\n 22

\p k^hajda kore pihonkər putok mɪnale ahija materga
 \b Lis^lv Kɪi wcnbKi cʒK gbɪtj Awɪnqv gv†Zi Mv
 \g suddenly having done uncle's son Mrinal came said
 \f *Suddenly, my uncle's son Mrinal came saying....*

Question 6**\Q: Whose son came?****\A: Uncle's son.****\n 23**

\p more mor bapke bɪʃarar bulija
 \b gɪi gi evc†K wemvi vi evj qv
 \g for me my father look for said
 \f *My father told me to look for you.*

\n 24

\p mi tar kət^hahan hunija g^hərə aɪtʃ^hɪl-ja ahilu
 \b ɪg Zvi K_vɪnɒb ɪnbqv Nɪi AvsɪQj -Aqv Awɪnj y
 \g I his words hearing to home return came
 \f *Hearing what he said, I returned home.*

\n 25

\p g^hərə ahilu-ɔr babaj mater ima nuara ase
 \b Nɪi Awɪnj yAi evvqv gv†Zi Bgv bɪqvɪ v Av†m
 \g to home when came father said mother was sick
 \f *When I came home, father said mother is sick.*

Question 7**\Q: Who was sick?****\A: Mother.****\n 26**

\p tor imarər daktar gəraŋ dʒana laktoĭ
 \b Zi Bgʷi i Wʷʒvi Mi vs hʷvʷ j vKZB
 \g your mother doctor to go need
 \f *Your mother needs to go to the doctor.*

\n 27

\p ɔpəka prejo morta imar loŋe dək^ha naʃ^hε
 \b J cKʷ tʃəʷ gi Zʷ Bgʷi j tM t^h Lʷ bʷʃQ
 \g that time until my mother with see not
 \f *I still hadn't seen my mother yet.*

\n 28

\p imarɛ naʃʃejaĭ mi mrinalrɛ matlu gaŋrihan anga
 \b Bgʷi bʷʃPəq q ɯg gbʷj tʃi gʷZj y Mʷonvb AvbMʷ
 \g mom not seeing I to Mrinal said one car bring
 \f *Not seeing her, I told Mrinal to bring a car.*

\n 29

\p baro babar aŋkorlu rupa kita kisadɛ ja aʃ^heta
 \b eʷi v eʷeʷi AvsKi j y i^hcʷ ʷKZʷ ʷKmvʃ^h Aqv AvʃQZʷ
 \g and to father ask money what amount had
 \f *And I asked father how much money he had.*

\n 30

\p babaj matlo moranʃtɛ tɛmon rupa neĭ
 \b eʷeʷiq gʷZj gi vsʃZ tʃgb i^hcʷ tʃbB
 \g father said on me that much money not have
 \p jaŋk^hijaŋ ahar tʃʷa aʃ^hε
 \b qʷsʷLqʷs Avrʷi Ppʷ AvʃQ
 \g 50 having almost have
 \f *Father said he didn't have much money, at most around 50 Taka.*

Question 8**\Q: How much money did Father have?****\A: 50 Taka.****\n 31**

\p ɔpəka mi babarɛ matlu dʒaga ti ʃunil dare
 \b A cKʷ ɯg eʷeʷi gʷZj y hʷMʷ ʷZ mʃxj^h ʃ^hi
 \g that time I to father said go you Sunil to brother
 \p mi matlu bulʃja rupa k^hani anija ɔhɛga
 \b ɯg gʷZj y eĭj qʷ i^hcʷ Lʷvb Awbqʷ Aʃ^hMʷ
 \g I said saying money some bring come
 \f *I told father to go to brother Sunil and tell him to bring some money.*

\n 32

\p mrinale mijə baro babaj imarə tulija gaɾi hanat kakorlaŋ
 \b gbɔtj wɔtq evɪv evəvq Bgɾi Zɔj qv Mwo nɔvɔZ KvKi j vs
 \g Mrinal I and father mom lift to a car took up

\p amartaɔ dzana laktoj sileɾe
 \b Avgvi Zvl hvbv j vKZB wɔtj tU
 \g we also go start to Sylhet
 \f *Mrinal, father, and I lifted mother into the car; we started for Sylhet.*

\n 33

\p ami rati duiɾa gɔde gɾja fɔɪlɔŋga
 \b Awg i wɪZ `βUv Mɔ` wMqv dl qj sMv
 \g we night 2 o'clock went reached
 \f *We got there at night, at 2 a.m.*

\n 34

\p rati nijam dɪlojɪl hante ʃɔhorgot manu kita nej
 \b i wɪZ wɔqvɔg w j Bj nɔvɔZ kniMZ gvby wKZv tɔB
 \g night much late because at city people much was not
 \f *Because it was so late, there weren't many people in the city.*

Question 9

\Q: **Why weren't there many people in the city?**

\A: **It was late.**

\n 35

\p hadi hadɪt ago dugo pear
 \b nw` nww` Z AvM `Mv tɔqvɪ
 \g Once in a while one two found
 \f *We would see one or two people now and then.*

\n 36

\p ami baro daktargor t^hikanago kita hannapasi
 \b Awg evɪv Ww³vi Mi wKvbvM wKZv nɔvɔvɔwQ
 \g we but doctor's address even did not know
 \f *But we didn't even know the doctor's address.*

\n 37

\p nijam bɪɾara bɪsiri pɔre ʃɔhorgor tʃokidar agore peja aŋkorlɔŋ
 \b wɔqvɔg wɛmvi v wɛmwi cɔi kniMi PwK`vi AvMɔi tɔqv AvsKi j s
 \g much searching after city's guard one person found asked
 \f *After a lot of searching, we found and asked a guard in the city.*

\n 38

\p ou tʃokidar amare daktargor t^hikanago dilo
 \b J PwK`vi Avgɾi Ww³vi Mi wKvbvM w j
 \g that guard to us doctor's address gave
 \f *That guard gave us the doctor's home address.*

\n 39

\p ou tʰɪkana mətɛ ami gɪja tʃɛjargatʰaŋte
 \b J wKvbr gɪZ Awg wMqv tʃPqvi Mv_ustZ
 \g that address according to we went saw

\p daktargor gʰɔrgo tɪlargor gɔdʒɛ dɔla patʃ tala bɪldɪŋgo
 \b Wvʒvi Mi Ni M wUj vi Mi MʃR `j v cvP Zij v newi sM
 \g doctor's house small hill on white five story building
 \f We went to that address and saw the doctor's house, a white, five-story building.

\Question 10

\Q: What color was the doctor's building?

\A: White.

H.3.2. Questions and answers for the story

The following questions were recorded by a 20-year old female native resident of Gulerhaor. They were transcribed and translated into Bangla by Rabi Singha, and then translated into English by Seung Kim.

Question 1:

\p nɪkka kompaka tanu matʰgot kʰɛltarata
 \b wɔv KgMvKv Zvby gvVMZ tLj Zvi vZv
 \g everyday what time they at field played
 \f Everyday, when did they play in the field?

Answer 1:

\p madane
 \b gv`vʃb
 \g in afternoon
 \f In the afternoon.

Question 2:

\p ta nɪkka na hɛlɛ kita ortʰaŋ
 \b Zv wɔv bv tɪj tɪj wKZv Ai_ʒs
 \g that everyday not play what happened
 \f What happened if he didn't play everyday?

Answer 2:

\p gʰum naher
 \b Ng bɪtɪni
 \g sleep could not
 \f He couldn't sleep at night.

Question 3:

\p tar bɔjoʃ ɔɪpaka koti asɪlta
 \b Zvi eqm JMvKv KɪZ AwQj Zv
 \g his age that time how much had
 \f How old was he at the time?

Answer 3:

\p baro
 \b evʃi v
 \g twelve
 \f Twelve.

Question 4:

\P kigol tar loꝝorugore bidejta
 \b ʍKMj Zvi j Mi DMti ʍetʰ Bj Zv
 \g with what his to friend hit
 \f *What did he use to hit his friend?*

Answer 4:

\P tempakgon
 \b tʰZgʉwKMb
 \g stone
 \f *A stone.*

Question 5:

\P imaj tare kita matesilta
 \b BgʉB Zvʰl ʍKZv gvʰZj MvZv
 \g mother to him what said
 \f *What did his mother say to him?*

Answer 5:

\P k^hela nartej
 \b tʰLj v bvi tʰZB
 \g play cannot
 \f *He can't play cricket anymore.*

Question 6:

\P kuꝝgor putoke ahija matlogata
 \b KsMi cʰZtʰK Awɩnqv gvZj MvZv
 \g whose son came said
 \f *Whose son came and said (that)?*

Answer 6:

\P pihonkor putok
 \b ʍcnbKi cʰZK
 \g uncle's son
 \f *Uncle's son.*

Question 7:

\P kuꝝgo nuara asilta
 \b KsM bevi v AwQj Zv
 \g whose sickness had
 \f *Who was sick?*

Answer 7:

\P ima
 \b Bgv
 \g mother
 \f *Mother.*

Question 8:

\P babaraꝝ koti rupa asilta
 \b eʉevi vs KuZ i^hcv AwQj Zv
 \g father's how much money had
 \f *How much money did father have?*

Answer 8:

\p jan^hijaj
 \b qisilqis
 \g fifty
 \f *Fifty.*

Question 9:

\p kija fohore manu nijam nejsilata
 \b wKqv knfi gvby wbcvg fbqij vZv
 \g why at city people many was not
 \f *Why weren't there many people in the city?*

Answer 9:

\p dilija
 \b w j Bqv
 \g was late
 \f *It was late.*

Question 10:

\p daktargor bildingor rəŋhan kihan asilta
 \b Wv³vi Mi wewi sMi i snvb wKrvb Avij Zv
 \g doctor's building's color what had
 \f *What color was the doctor's building?*

Answer 10:

\p dola
 \b `jv
 \g white
 \f *White.*

H.4. Bishnupriya Madoi Gang hometown test (HTT)

Below is the text of the story developed as the Madoi Gang HTT. It was recorded at Shivbazar, near Madhapur, on 25 March, 2003, from a 23-year old male who had lived there his entire life. The story was later transcribed by Suman Singha, who also gave the Bangla gloss for each Bishnupriya word or phrase. The English gloss was then translated from that Bangla gloss by Seung Kim.

H.4.1 Text of the story

\n 1

\p mor ninpa ahan asilta kukurfou ago palani
 \b tgv wbcv Avrvb Avmj Zv KKikS AvtMv cvj wb
 \g my hobby one was puppies one raise
 \f *My hobby was to raise puppies.*

Question 1**Q: What was his hobby?****A: Raising puppies.****n 2**

\p gaŋ tʃarihan bɪʃɔːrɪja mi kukurʃou ago peɪlu
 \b MɪO Pmi nɒb wemwi qv wɔ KKi tʃkʃ AvʃMv tʃBj y
 \g village four searched I puppy one got
 \f *I looked in four villages and found a puppy.*

Question 2**Q: How many villages did he search?****A: Four.****n 3**

\p dʒegor garigor rɔŋhan kala baro dʒaŋhanir rɔŋhan d^hola
 \b thMi Mwi Mi i snɒb Kɪj v eɪtɪv Rɪsnɒbi i snɒb aj v
 \g its body's color black and paw's color white
 \f *The color of the body was black, and its paws were white.*

n 4

\p gɔːre anlu aro mor dada baro k^hli bɔːnɒk dʒɔːbor haroʊila
 \b Mti Avbj y Avtɪv tɔvi ˈv v eɪtɪv wɪ ebK Rei nɪtɪ sBj v
 \g to brought after my older and little sister very happy were
 home brother
 \f *When I brought it home, my older brother and younger sister were very happy.*

n 5

\p imaj deɦija kukurɔta g^hɔr pahaɾa ditara bulija radzili
 \b BɔvB t^h nɒqv KKi Zɪ Ni Cɪnɪov wɪ Zɪv v eɪj qv i wɪRɪj
 \g mother seeing dogs home guard give saying agreed
 \f *Seeing it, mother agreed to keep him saying that dogs can guard houses.*

n 6

\p amar beɪbuni habɪje bana peja tʃu tʃu korɪja
 \b Avɔvi tɛBeɪb nweɪq eɪvɒ tɒqv PɪPɪKwi qv
 \g our siblings all pet kiss

 \p d^hahoraŋ ɔhat ta dʒɔːbor haroɪja ledʒgo larat
 \b avɪvO AnvZ Zv Rei nɪʃi qv tʃ RʃMv j vi vZ
 \g call time he very happily tail wag
 \f *When all we siblings would pet, kiss, and call it, it was happy and wagged its tail.*

n 7

\p pɔɪla mi kukurʃou ɔgɔːre d^hɔla tʃɪni k^hawajlu
 \b cɔj v wɔ KKi tʃkʃ AMtɪl aj v wɪb Lvɪ qvBj y
 \g At first I puppy to him white sugar fed
 \f *At first, I gave the puppy white sugar to eat.*

Question 3**Q: What did he feed the puppy at first?****A: White sugar or sugar.****n 8**

\p emta amar bejbunije tar naŋ ahen t^hona lɛpkorlaŋ
 \b GgZv Avgvi teBeɓtq Zvi bɪO Avɪnb _bv tʃ cKij vs
 \g One time we siblings his name one make decided
 \f *My siblings decided that it needed a name.*

n 9

\p mor dadaj mɔter naŋhan boltu t^hoik k^huli bɔnke matri mintu t^hoik
 \b tɔvi `v`vq gɪzi bɪOnvb eɛz _BK Lɔj ebiK gvɪZwi ɪgɔz _BK
 \g my older said name Boltu will little sister said Mintu will
 brother be

\p mi maturi pɪntu t^hoik
 \b ɪg gvɪZwi ɪcɔly _BK
 \g I said Pintu will be
 \f *My brother said it should be called Boltu, my little sister said Mintu, and I said Pintu.*

n 10

\p naŋt^hona nɪja kuli ahan lɔgoborlanga
 \b bɪO_bv ɪbɔv Kɪj Avɪnb j Meij vOMv
 \g name-making with argument one started
 \f *There was an argument because of making a name.*

Question 4**Q: About what did they argue?****A: Coming up with a name.****n 11**

\p ɔhan dehrja imaj matlo ɛgɔr naŋhan pɪntu t^hoik
 \b Avɪnb t^hɪnqv BgvB gvZj GMi bɪOnvb ɪcɔly _BK
 \g that seeing Mother said its name Pintu will be
 \f *Seeing this, mother said that its name would be Pintu.*

n 12

\p amio ɔhan ɔkorlaŋ
 \b Awgl Avɪnb AKij vO
 \g we also that accepted
 \f *We accepted this, too.*

n 13

\p ʃendahar ɔhat baba gɔrɛ ahil
 \b tɪm`vni AvɪZ eɛv Mɪl Awɪj
 \g evening time Father to home came
 \f *Father came home in the evening.*

Question 5**Q: When did Father come home?****A: In the evening.****n 14**

\P baba dʒɔbɔrɛ kukur mekur dɛhɛ nɔharɛr
 \b eɪvɪ Reʃi KKi ʃgKi ʃ ʃn bɪvʃi i
 \g Father strongly dog cat see unable
 \f *Father couldn't stand cats and dogs.*

n 15

\P babai mater ɛʃa dʒɔbɔrɛ mɔʃla ija tʰajʃara tahe
 \b eɪvɪB gʃʃZi GUv Reʃi gqj v Bqv _vqZvi v Zvʃn
 \g Father said it very dirty as lives
 \f *Father said that they are very dirty.*

n 16

\P imai babare budʒʰanɛ babao pɪntʃr tʰona ikorlo
 \b BgʃB eɪvʃi eʃʃmʃtʃ eɪvɪ wɔʃʃi _bv BKi ʃj v
 \g Mother to Father explaining Father Pintu keep agreed
 \f *After mother explained to father, he agreed to keep Pintu.*

n 17

\P pɔʃlakar rati tɪnhan pɪntʃr dʒɔbɔrɛ hm korlo
 \b cqj vKvi i wZ wZbnvb wɔʃʃi Reʃi wnb Ki ʃj v
 \g First night three Pintu very trouble made
 \f *The first three nights, Pintu was a lot of trouble.*

Question 6**Q: At first, how many nights did Pintu cause trouble?****A: Three.****n 18**

\P hudda ku-u-u-u kortja ruher parɔna gʰumar
 \b uʃv KɛD-D-D Kwi qv i ʃni cvi bv Ngvi
 \g Only howling calling could not sleep
 \f *He would only howl, so we could not sleep.*

n 19

\P ite ite ta amar gɔror manugo para ilo
 \b BʃZ BʃZ Zv Avgi Mi i gʃbʃMv cvi v Bj
 \g Little by little he our house's person like became
 \f *Over time, he became like a member of our family.*

n 20

\P ta matʃʰ kʰana dʒɔbor pɔʃʰondo kɔrɛr
 \b Zv gvQ Lvɔv Rei cɔʃ Kʃi i
 \g he fish eat very liked
 \f *He really liked to eat fish.*

\n 21

\p	kada barar	manur	mekurore	dək ^h le	lagane	tʃar
\b	Kv`v evi vi	gvbj	tgKi tI	t`L t j	j vMv t b	Pvi
\g	nearby	people's	cat	seeing	fight	like
\f	<i>He would fight with the neighbors' cats.</i>					

\n 22

\p	kərər	kamota	dehija	amrata	dʒəbor	harou	lager
\b	Kʃi i	KvgZv	t`nqv	Avgi vZv	Rei	nvʃi S	j vʃMi
\g	doing	action	seeing	we	very	fun	feel
\f	<i>We would all have fun watching his actions.</i>						

\n 23

\p	dʒemon	madane	lobukotto	gorur	b ^h ʒʃukgo
\b	ʃhgb	gv`v t b	j eKZi	ʃMvi "i	f mK t Mv
\g	For example	in afternoon	from field	cow's	stake
\p	kamaʃja	iʃulija	goruʃaje	aner	
\b	Kvgwoqv	Bmj j qv	ʃMvi "mv t O	Av t bi	
\g	biting	pulling	cowshed	bring	
\f	<i>For example, in the afternoon, he would take the cow's stake in his mouth and pull and lead it back to the cowshed from the field.</i>				

\n 24

\p	goru ʃougor	loge	dapda dapdi	k ^h elar
\b	ʃMvi " ʃkʃ t Mvi	j t M	`vc `v `vc w	t L j vi
\g	calves	with	run around	play
\f	<i>He would run around with the calves.</i>			

\Question 7

\Q: With what did he run around and play?

\A: Calves.

\n 25

\p	rati	g ^h eʃ g ^h eʃ	korija	tʃor	pahaʃa	der
\b	i vʃZ	tND tND	Kwi qv	Pi	civivov	t`i
\g	at night	barking		thief	guard	give
\f	<i>He would bark at night to guard us from thieves.</i>					

\n 26

\p	akdm	ʃendahar	ʃoməj	mi	gore	ahrlu
\b	AvKw`b	t m `v nvi	mgq	wg	Mʃi	Avinj y
\g	One day	evening	time	I	to home	came
\f	<i>One day, I came home at evening time.</i>					

\n 27

\p	gore	həmaŋ	bulte	konhandet	ahija	pinture	mor	dʒaŋe	kamaʃlo
\b	Mʃi	ngvO	ej ʃZ	tKivnrvʃ`Z	Avnqv	wC Uʃi	t gvi	Rv t O	Kvgot j v
\g	house	enter	do	from somewhere	came	Pintu	my	leg	bit
\f	<i>When I was entering the house, Pintu came out of nowhere and bit my leg.</i>								

Question 8**Q: Where did Pintu bite?****A: In the leg.****n 28**

\p ehan dek^htja mi baro mor gəror manu habi aʃsanok ilaŋ
 \b Gnvb t^huLqv wɔ evtⁱv tɔvi Mi i gvby nwe AvmnbK Bj vs
 \g this seeing I and my house's people all shocked became
 \f *I and my family were all shocked at this.*

n 29

\p kada barar manue matlu pɪntu kukur ɔgote pagala tja porisega
 \b Kr^v v eivi gvbyq gvZj y wɔUy Kʃi AʃMvʃZ cɪMvj v Bqv cwi tQMv
 \g nearby people said Pintu dog that crazy became
 \f *All our neighbors said that Pintu had gone mad.*

n 30

\p əhan hunja baba laʃ^higon pɪnture goretto talkorlo
 \b Anvb ũbqv eɛv j wʃtMvb wɔUʃi Mʃi Zi Zj Ki tʃ v
 \g that hearing Father with stick Pintu from house chased away
 \f *Hearing this, father used a stick to chase Pintu away from our house.*

Question 9**Q: What did Father use to chase Pintu away?****A: A stick.****n 31**

\p dujdm pəre hunlaŋ kadahar gaŋgor manue pɪnture
 \b ʃB^v b cʃi ũbj vs Kr^v vrvi MvOⁱ gvbyq wɔUʃi
 \g 2 day later heard nearby village's man Pintu

\p tird^honuk kapporja maribelatʃ^hi
 \b wZi abʃ Kr^vami qv gwi tɛj wQ
 \g arrow shooting killed
 \f *Two days later, I heard that a man from a nearby village killed Pintu by shooting it with an arrow.*

Question 10**Q: How was Pintu killed?****A: Shot by an arrow.****H.4.2. Questions and answers for the story**

The following questions were recorded by a 28-year-old female native resident of Shivbazar. They were transcribed and translated into Bangla by Suman Singha.

Question 1:

\p tar nɪppahan kihan aʃilto
 \b Zvi wɔOcɪvrnb wK^vnb Avmj Z
 \g his hobby what was
 \f *What was his hobby?*

Answer 1:

\p kukur_ˈfou palani
 \b KK_i t_kš cvj v_ɔb
 \g puppy raise
 \f *Raising puppies.*

Question 2:

\p gaŋ ko_ˈhan bisarlota
 \b M_ɔO Kq_nv_b wemvi j Z_v
 \g village how many searched
 \f *In how many villages did he search?*

Answer 2:

\p tʃarihan
 \b P_{wi} n_vb
 \g four
 \f *Four.*

Question 3:

\p pɔ_ˈlaka tare kita k^ha_oɪla
 \b c_qj v_kv Z_vt_i w_kZ_v L_vl B_j v
 \g first to him what fed
 \f *At first, what did they feed him?*

Answer 3:

\p d^hɔ_{la} tʃ_{mi}
 \b a_j v w_P_wb
 \g white sugar
 \f *White sugar.*

Question 4:

\p be_ˈbunir mott^hɛ kidra kuli laglata
 \b tɛqɛ_ˈɔi g_ta^ˈ w_kw^ˈ q_v K_{uj} j w_Mj v_Zv
 \g siblings among with what argument started
 \f *About what did they argue?*

Answer 4:

\p naŋ t^honarka
 \b b_vO _b_vi K_v
 \g name making
 \f *Coming up with a name.*

Question 5:

\p kom_paga bapok g^hɔ_rɛ ahɪl
 \b t_kv_ˈu_vw_v ev_{ck} N_ti Av_wj
 \g when Father home came
 \f *When did father come home?*

Answer 5:

\p ʃendahar
 \b t_mˈ v_nvi
 \g evening
 \f *Evening.*

Question 6:

\p pɔ_ˈlaka rati ko_ˈhan ta hmkorlo
 \b c_qj v_kv i v_wZ Kq_nv_b Z_v w_nbK_i t_j v
 \g first night how many he gave trouble
 \f *At first how many nights did he cause trouble?*

Answer 6:

\P tmhan
 \b mZbnvb
 \g three
 \f *Three.*

Question 7:

\P ta kar loge dapda dapdi k^helar
 \b Zv Kvi j #M `vc`v `vcw` tLj vi
 \g he who with running played
 \f *With what did he run around and play?*

Answer 7:

\P gorufougor loge
 \b tMvi #kS#Mvi j #M
 \g calf with
 \f *Calves.*

Question 8:

\P pmtu koraj kamralo
 \b m>Uy tKvi v0 Kvgovtj v
 \g pintu where bit
 \f *Where did Pintu bite?*

Answer 8:

\P dzaje
 \b Rv#0
 \g at leg
 \f *The leg.*

Question 9:

\P bapke kigono pinture talkorlo
 \b evctK mKM#bv m>U#i Zvj Ki tj v
 \g father with what to Pintu chased away
 \f *What did Father use to chase Pintu away?*

Answer 9:

\P lat^higon
 \b j wV#Mvb
 \g stick
 \f *A stick.*

Question 10:

\P kifare pmtu morlta
 \b mKmv#i m>Uy gwi j Zv
 \g how Pintu killed
 \f *How was Pintu killed?*

Answer 10:

\P trd^honuk kapporja
 \b mZi abK Kvawi qv
 \g arrow shot
 \f *Shot by an arrow.*

I. RTT SCORES

I.1. Scoring and answer notes

The following tables display the answers given by HTT subjects. They are displayed according to subject location and text location. The following abbreviations and scoring codes are used in the tables in section I.2:

- *Subj. No.* = Subject identification number.
- *A1 – A10* = Answer given to questions 1-10 about the content of the text. Questions and correct answers vary among tests. Actual questions and accepted answers are given within the texts shown in appendices H.3.1 through H.4.2.
- *Score* = Total score for the given subject, based on 10 points per question.

The tables in section I.3 display post-HTT questionnaire responses. The questionnaire is given in appendix C.2. The following abbreviations are used in the questionnaire response tables:

- *N = no* *Y = yes*

I.2. Answers and scores

I.2.1. Rajar Gang HTT validation test

Subj. No.	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	Score
1	in afternoon	couldn't sleep at night	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late at night	white	100%
2	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late at night	white	100%
3	in afternoon	couldn't sleep at night	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
4	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
5	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
6	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
7	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
8	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
9	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%
10	in afternoon	couldn't sleep	twelve	stone	can't play	uncle's son	mother	fifty	it was late	white	100%

Average score = 100; Sample size = 10

I.2.2. Madoi Gang HTT validation test

Subj. No.	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	Score
1	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three nights	calf	leg	stick	arrow	100%
2	raising puppies	four	white sugar	making a name	evening	three	with calf	leg	stick	arrow	100%
3	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three nights	with calf	leg	stick	arrow	100%
4	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three nights	calf	leg	stick	arrow	100%
5	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening time	three	with calf	leg	stick	shot by arrow	100%
6	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening time	three	calf	leg	stick	arrow	100%
7	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three	with calf	leg	stick	shot by arrow	100%
8	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three	calf	leg	stick	shot by arrow	100%
9	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three	calf	leg	stick	shot by arrow	100%
10	raising puppies	four villages	white sugar	making a name	evening	three	calf	leg	stick	shot by arrow	100%

Average score = 100; Sample size = 10

I.3. Post-HTT responses

I.3.1. Rajar Gang HTT validation subjects

Subj. No.	Where from?	Speech good?	Like your village?	Mixed?
1	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
2	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
3	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
4	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
5	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	Y, Bangla
6	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
7	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
8	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	Y, Bangla
9	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	N
10	Gulerhaor	Y	Y	Y, Bangla

I.3.2. Madoi Gang HTT validation subjects

Subj. No.	Where from?	Speech good?	Like your village?	Mixed?
1	Madhapur	Y	Y	Y, Bangla
2	Madhapur	Y	Y	Y, Rajar Gang
3	Madhapur	Y	Y	N
4	Madhapur	Y	Y	N
5	Madhapur	Y	Y	Y, Bangla
6	Madhapur	Y	Y	N
7	Madhapur	Y	Y	N
8	Madhapur	Y	Y	N
9	Madhapur	Y	Y	didn't notice
10	Madhapur	Y	Y	N

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